

**JAI - HIND**

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# JAI-HIND

THE DIARY OF REBEL DAUGHTER OF INDIA  
WITH THE RANI OF JHANSI REGIMENT



IN AID OF RELIEF FUND FOR FAMILIES  
OF THE  
AZAD HIND FAUJ SOLDIERS

"JAI-HIND," is our National  
Salutation, as Indian meets  
Indian;

The TRICOLOUR with the  
Charkha is our National Flag;

Tagore's song 'JAYA-HO' has  
become our National Anthem;

The TIGER, with its association  
of Tipu Sultan—assumes the  
position of our Emblem;

'CHALO DELHI' is our War Cry,  
and 'INQILAB ZINDABAD' &  
'AZAD-HIND ZINDABAD'  
are our Slogans;

'VISWAS-EKTA-BALIDAN'  
—Faith, Unity, Sacrifice,—  
is our Motto "

**ARZI HUKUMAT-e-AZAD HIND**  
(PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF FREE INDIA )

*To all Fellow Rebels*

*-in India and outside*

*who fought the second*

*War of Indian independence*

*1942-1945*

# INTRODUCTION.

**M**Y recent trip to Burma and Siam not only afforded me contacts with men and material connected with the Azad Hind Government of Subhas Babu but I also received special attention of many other contacts after my arrival home. That is how the material like the present publication could be contacted and I am delightful to see that it receives the publicity that it deserves so richly.

History is a sort of research from varied material the veracity of which the historian has got to weigh and test having had no personal contacts either with the events or with the individuals involved. A diary is generally a day to day chronicle of events seen and observed personally by the chronicler. A diary is therefore a history with greater sanctity of veracity. I am sure therefore that the publication of this diary will be appreciated by the general public.

Let me emphasize once again that the present publication is a chronicle of events pure and simple and is meant as such. If it were the times of war I would have advised the publisher not to publish it lest it may affect the conduct of war. But now war being over such a chronicle should be recorded immediately before the memories grow faint and elements of exaggeration or glorification creep into it. The present publication has tried to avoid both.

A word about Subhas Babu and his Azad Hind Government. There are people in India who do not like the step that Subhas Babu took about the formation of his Government etc. They are entitled to their view. But even they and the worst of his opponents must accept in fairness the loftiness of the motives of Subhas Babu, the historic risk he took and the sublime sacrifice that he made in his venture of the Azad Hind Government.

We have been disarmed by our rulers for the last two hundred years. Our nation is afraid to handle arms. We feel we cannot arm ourselves and fight for our freedom. Subhas proved to us and to the world that all that nervousness is momentary. We even the merchants and clerks amongst us even the girls could be armed and could fight. He solved for us the communal question, the food question, the language question—and what not? His experiment in East Asia is a neo sign of guidance for the future work for our nation. Yes his East Asian experiment of Azad Government taught us a lot and opened our eyes. We feel we are tougher, better and more deserving of our freedom. Our country owes to him a debt. We did owe him much for what he did in India but we owe him much more very very much more for what he did in East Asia.

**SUBHAS BABU ZINDABADI INQILAB ZINDABADI JAI HIND**

*Amrit Lal Gupta*

September 29, 1945.

Dear Brother,

I am sending you valuable material, my diary for the critical period of our struggle for Indian freedom. If you think it would be useful for the cause of our country, you are free to make any use you like of it.

If you wish to publish anything out of it, you are free to edit it in any way you think proper.

There is only one condition I shall make. It must help the cause of freedom of our country. That assured, you are the absolute master of the material that I send to you.

Jai Hind!

Yours sincerely,

M——

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## JAI-HIND

Here are some leaves from the diary of an unknown daughter of India, an eye-witness of the glorious epic of the Indian Freedom Movement in East Asia

She watched the precipitate collapse of the British Empire in the stormy days of December 1941 and onwards. She saw the Yellow Hordes sweep Malaya and Burma from end to end; she was present at the birth of the Revolution which quickly took concrete shape in the Provisional Government of Free India with its independent army—the Azad Hind Fauj of immortal fame. She was not only there at the moment of the uncertain dawn of the Movement, but she lived through the blaze of noon tide, and saw the lengthening shadows of the sunset merging into the creeping darkness of the coming black night

This is no idle journal of an arm-chair egotist, the vapourings of a Society doll, nor the swoops of a well-trained news-hound. It is the straightforward, first-hand, matter-of-fact account by an Indian Woman Revolutionary, who took up the gun to fight with the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.

She has no use for literary embellishments. Her one anxiety is that the echo of "JAI-HIND" and all that it meant to thirty lakhs of fighters for freedom, shall ring true in our own country.

All we have done is to carefully remove names of workers and such material as may not bear publication for obvious reasons.

—The Editors.





*His Excellency Netaji*  
**Subhas Chandra Bose,**  
*Head of State, Asst. of Independence Asst. Head*  
*President Asst. Head South & Southern Commander*  
*Asst. Head East*

February 1, 1942.

I have determined to keep a regular diary of the stirring events that are happening so fast all around me. I have always wanted to keep a diary. But the good resolve lasts for some weeks, and then is forgotten.

The European conflict of giants seemed far away,—thousands of miles which felt like millions of miles. But with one sweep the Far East has also been engulfed. The mighty British Navy has now practically withdrawn from our waters in the Pacific. The East is being lost. The British sun, which is never supposed to set, will have no place to rise in. Naturally it will always be set!

Everyone is now realising that the British Empire is not impregnable, that defeat and disgrace can also besmirch its flag. On 7th December last year the Japs struck the initial blow at Pearl Harbour. Guam fell on 13th, Wake Island on 22nd, Hongkong on 25th, Manilla on 2nd January. Penang is in Jap hands from 20th December. Ipoh, the tin industry base, fell on 29th December. The invincible British Imperialists are now on the run. The airways and the sea-routes are crowded to suffocation with retreating human rabble, who are no more cast in the mould of a lion but resemble the frightened mouse in its precipitate flight. The Japanese are close on their heels. Rumours and stories of atrocities seep into my ears, the horror and panic round about me grips me too,—and I also want to run.

But run where? To whom? And how? No, I shall not run. I shall stay where I am. Let not my husband find me gone when he arrives. Let him not think I sought safety leaving him in danger. He said he would meet me in Singapore. In Singapore I shall wait for him, even if the skies collapse.

I have already procured a small bottle of Potassium Cyanide. If the Japs attempt to molest my body, I shall not be helpless. I wonder where you are, my husband? If you hear me, beloved, know that I shall not quake before the most ruthless torturer. I shall keep the honour and prestige of your family name untainted.

Singapore is becoming very expensive indeed. Prices have risen abnormally. Everything is dear and food items make the biggest hole in my meagre money resources. I must look for a job. But what job,—when the ground on which you stand is rocking with threatened earthquakes?

*February 2, 1942*

The Japanese have been seeping into Burma from the Thai end. Mergui, Tevoy and Moulmein are under bombardment. Moulmein is already in Jap hands. Martaban is making heroic efforts.—All in vain?

People are running away,—deserting the sinking ship of Malaya. The victorious Japs are having evidently a walk-over. The British Officers, their wives, their children, are all going or gone. A three-pronged assault from Batu Pahat, Kluang and Mersing is advancing on our city and choking us off from the rest of Malaya. Shall we be able to prevent their taking the city? Pegu the Sittang Valley in Burma are already invested by the Nippon troops.

The authorities declare that Singapore is "impregnable". Nobody believes them. Their prestige is dirt. But their arrogance against the Malaysians and Indians has not reduced one iota.

Evacuation—evacuation—there is no talk except of people on the move, going—going anywhere—without a destination, anywhere—except where the hands of the Japs can grasp them.

## THE FRYING-PAN

I believe half the population of Indians will have left Malaya before the Japs take over Singapore. What sheep we have been reduced to under the yoke of British slavery!

*February 15, 1942*

I did not have time to write for the last few days. The inevitable has happened. The 'Uncrackable Nut' has been cracked. Singapore is no more a British bastion. Singapore's naval base cost 30 million pounds to build. Now the Jap soldiers have taken charge of Singapore harbour. 15,000 British, 13,000 Australians, along with 32,000 Indian troops surrendered today. Thus passes into the hands of the Japs a population of 50 lakhs and the picturesque territories of Malaya.

People are scared. But no less than six or seven persons greeted me in the street and expressed their relief that the Japs were not yet misbehaving. Malaya, the largest producer of tin and rubber—38% world's tin and 43% world's rubber—is now in Jap possession.

I must take stalk of the whole situation. Am I glad that the Japs have been successful? I cannot honestly say I am. Mr. J—was explaining to me his reasons for being glad. His is a positive attitude, as against mine. Possibly I want to be more circumspect and watch and see how the new bugs in the Malaya bed turn out.

Mr. J—was talking from first-hand information, he said. He told me about the recent shooting of labourers on the British estates in the north. Their crime was that they asked for an increase in wages to balance the higher war prices. He was very indignant about the pre-censorship levied on Indian presses when British-owned went free.

I myself know of instances of colour-bar which rankle in Indian minds. The Singapore Swimming Club was one of the exclusively preserved European resorts. Indians were not allowed.

Indian Officers protested and grumbled so loudly that at last they were admitted but they were not allowed to enter the swimming pool. What would happen if Indian and English Officers swam in the same pool together? Pure snobbery!

Are you safe, my P—? Let me confess to you, I am afraid—afraid that something may have happened to you. I cannot sleep or sit at ease for a moment. I must know, I *must* know how you are—where you are . . . .

## AND THE FIRE

February 17, 1942

The whole of the Indian Community is excited and awake. The buzz of endless emphasis tables thumped, hands wildly gesticulating—one would think it is mass hysteria if one did not know the cause.

Today Major Fujiwara of the Jap Military Headquarters sent for a number of prominent Indians. There was pin-drop silence in the crowded drawing room when they came back and narrated what had transpired. They explained that Major Fujiwara had been kindness personified. He had politely explained that the military might of England had been dealt mortal blows, that this was an ideal time for Indians to rise and strike for their country's freedom, that Japan was prepared to help Indians in every way. Even though Indians were British subjects and thus technically enemy nationals, the Japanese know that Indians are not British subjects from choice. The Japanese Army would not treat them as enemies, but was prepared to treat them as friends if they repudiated British nationality. He suggested that if Indians would form an Independence League, he would be able to give all facilities for the work.

The leaders had not been of one mind, and quite a number suspected the motives of the Japs. So they replied that they

## AND THE FIRE

were very thankful for the offer, but they must discuss the problem and then meet him again a few days later.

Still no news of you, my husband ! I keep a brave face, laugh and joke, and try to keep occupied with the prevalent enthusiasm for discussion. Nobody suspects the worry that eats me. But my heart is beating every second your name—the 'japa' is never-ending : God ! Keep him fit—keep him well—guard over him !

*February 21, 1942*

Our leaders have sent back a cautious reply to Major Fujiwara. They have said that it is essential in taking such a grave decision that they must consult leaders of the Indian community all over Malaya. They have also apprised him about the existence of the Central Indian Association of Malaya and suggested that its President, Sri N. Raghavan be brought to Singapore for consultations.

So by the first week of next month a consultation between all Indian leaders of Malaya is likely to take place. Opinion in Singapore is sharply divided, though the majority favours the formation of the Indian Independence League and putting the Japs to the test of their promises. We can make it plain that we shall work only and solely for Indian Independence.

But some believe that the British will yet come back. So we must "wait and watch"—at least for a month or two. Cautious !

*February 23, 1942*

I have just heard the story of how the Japs took "impregnable" Singapore. Sri K—learnt it from our Indian Military Officers whom he met in the Prisoners of War Camp.

Singapore,—our Sinha-pur (City of the Lion)—was outflanked by the Japs. It was certainly impregnable if attacked from the sea. But from the land-end, it was child's play.

Johore was to have been defended by the Australian troops under Gen. Bennett. They however fell back into Singapore!

But our water-supply is from Johore. When the Japanese cut off the city's water supply, there was nothing to be done but to surrender.

"Military imbeciles"—that is how the Indian Officers described those who declared Singapore to be "impregnable". Sri K—said that there is no doubt that the British generals have been completely out-witted by the Japanese, that modern strategy in war was unknown to them. To forget that Thailand was the main highway to Malayá! Even a child could look at the map and see it.

He said that when the Japs began their offensive from Kota Bahru, the British Army did not have a single tank in Malaya. It had no real panzer unit. It had a small number of armoured cars, but even these were the battered remnants of Palestine. Some of them were twenty-five years old, useless against modern bullets and only good as exhibition pieces in riots, when both sides belong to unarmed races. Even the heavy machine-guns were not available in these armoured cars. No wonder the Japs just walked through.

And the iron had sunk deep even in the civil ranks of the Government of Malaya. I myself witnessed how the arrogant British and other white-skinned "Burra-Sahabs" danced and organized pahit parties every night and regaled themselves in Singapore, even when the Japs had conquered half of Malaya.

Sri K—remembers the interview Brooke-Popham, the British C-in-C of Far East, gave five days before the Jap attack on Malaya, Pearl Harbour and Manila. It was the 3rd of December. He says the words of the C-in-C still ring in his ears: "Tojo is scratching his head. The Japs are at their wit's end and do not know which way to turn. Japan has no decided policy. Japan

## AND THE FIRE

dare not attack the British or the Americans. We shall teach them a lesson if they dare to attack us. We are ready for them."

And the Japs dared. They sank the Prince of Wales and the Repulse—the two top-notch battleships—as if they were paper boats in a tub!

Has the British lion really prepared his grave? It seems very much so.

*February 28, 1942*

News news—great news at last! P—is in the Prisoners of War Camp. It seems his unit had no option but to surrender to the Japs. They had the choice of uselessly being mowed down by tanks, heavy artillery actions and air attacks, or surrender. No wonder they surrendered. They had neither enough guns nor air support. And the Australians had withdrawn and exposed their flank.

I am told the men had tears in their eyes when they were asked to lay down their arms.

But the great thing is that P—is safe and sound. I have written an application to the Commandant. I have asked to see him, to send him food—clothes—books to read—and whatever may be his needs.

I am assured he will soon be free—because as soon as the Indian Independence League is formed, Indians shall be the first concern of Indians.

I must record another link in the chain of events. Sri Rash Behari Bose has wired to the leaders here to go to Tokyo for a conference.



*March 11, 1942*

My poor diary! I had forgotten you I must record all the news anyway

P—is well I have seen him His face lighted up with spontaneous joy when he saw me in the Commandant's Office He has suffered I could not help noticing the lines of care on his face the slight tremor in his fingers P—told me how the Jap Command had outwitted and outstrategied his commanders by novel infiltration tactics They made a series of landings on the west-coast but always in the rear of our lines and so forced the pace of retreat into a rout His commanders were puzzled and could not make out head or tail of the strategy

Rangoon is in Japanese hands! It was evacuated by the British four days back Rangoon of the golden Shwe Dagon Pagoda where two hair of Lord Buddha are buried, is now Jap territory

The first Conference of Indians has come off It was held yesterday and the day before—here in Singapore I must not call it Singapore any more It is Syonan—the Light of the South That is the new name the Japs have given it I worked for the Conference as a volunteer Delegates came from all over Malaya and a sprinkling from Thailand too Sri Rash Behari Bose had asked for an official delegation from Malaya and Thailand for the Tokyo Conference The Japs were very keen on it. But our leaders have decided to proceed warily They appointed only a Goodwill Mission instead They do not wish to commit themselves in advance to any course of action that may be adopted at Tokyo In the meanwhile they are pressing the local Jap commanders to free all Indians from the jails

*March 23 1942*

I have seen P—quite often by now He tells me there is heart searching discussion between the army men inside the

## AND THE FIRE

Camp. The majority of the men are declaring that if they are asked to join the Japs, they will say a flat 'no.' But if they are allowed to make a bid for the freedom of India, if the Japs help them to organise an army to liberate India from British Imperialism, then they will willingly do so. But they want to be assured about this. They say their military oath is to their country. P—says that increasingly this point of view is becoming popular. But they are very suspicious of Jap intentions. They have witnessed Jap cruelties to the Chinese, and do not like their fascist ways. They want clean hands to defend and fight for freedom. They want an Indian army, manned and commanded by Indian Officers for Indian freedom. Otherwise they are prepared to die—stagnate and die—suffer and die. P—says the men will never consent to be Jap tools, even though hatred of the British Imperialist is universal and deep-seated. Patriotism is very strong amongst them.

News has just come on the radio. Andaman Islands have been stormed and occupied by the Japs today. Has the invasion of India begun?

March 31, 1942

The Tokyo Conference of Indians in Japan, China, Malaya, Thailand, has been held. Sri Rash Behari Bose presided. It lasted from the 28th to the 30th. The plane from Thailand carrying Indian representatives met with an accident. The very much respected Swami Satyananda Puri met his death in the crash,—a great loss!

The Conference decided to start the Indian Independence League with the object: "To secure independence complete and free from foreign domination, interference or control of whatever nature."

One of the most important decisions is to raise an Azad Hind Fauj.

The Conference also decided to convene a full representative conference of all East Asian Indians at Bangkok in June. This Conference would officially inaugurate the Indian Independence League and elect its Council of Action.

Well done, my countrymen. You walked into the very den of the lion in Tokyo and manfully made your decisions for safeguarding the best interests of our country.

P—, the day is near when I can bring you home and look after you. Yes, freedom from the Camp is round the corner. It cannot be put off much longer now. And yet I feel so jumpy, lest, lest . . . . .

*April 13, 1942*

P—is still in the Prisoners of War Camp. There is talk everyday—every long day—about their release. But our leaders who returned from Tokyo after the Conference have advised the men not to precipitate any decision. They want that every action that is taken should be practically unanimous. There is yet no definite public undertaking given by the Japanese about Indian freedom and the role of the Independence League.

So—more waiting. It is sickening to wait.

But in the meanwhile, I have taken up active work. A conference of all branches of the I I L in Malaya has been called at Syonan on the 22nd of this month. And I manage to keep myself occupied with work. But when I get home!

The Chinese are evidently the bete noire of the Japs. They are hated by the Malays too. There are several rumours afloat of torture and maltreatment of Chinese by the Jap military.

My bottle of Pot. Cyanide is still with me,—constantly.

April 26, 1942

The All-Malaya Conference lasted for three days: 22nd, 23rd and 25th. A central body to co-ordinate, supervise and control the functioning of the various branches has come into existence. Health, social welfare, medical relief, and political organisational work will be done. It shall be the aim of each branch to activate every Indian in its sector.

I was having a long tete-a-tete with Sri R—. He is a fine upright man. He said: "Conquest gives no passport to anybody to own my mind. He may control my body, but he shall fail to govern my mind. My judgment, my reason, my will to act, my preferences and my prejudices, these are my own empire. Force of arms, conquest by brute strength, has no influence over it. I prefer death to mental slavery through physical conquest."

Yes, I agree with him. I told him he can count on at least two as his followers, P—and myself.

The oil fields of Yenang Yaung fell to the Japs on 20th April. The Japs have declared that they will be in functioning order in six months' time.

I listened to the Berlin Radio and heard Sri Subhas Bose! Everybody in Singapore heard him. I sat with my short-hand note-book. I shall put down some of his exact words. Even as I wrote them down in strokes and dashes and dots, I could feel the power of his oratory. If he came here it would be a great day for all of us.

"In spite of British propaganda it should be clear to all right-thinking Indians that in this wide world India has but one enemy, the enemy who has exploited her for over a hundred years, the enemy who sucks the life blood of Mother India, British Imperialism....."

"I am not an apologist of the Tripartite Powers ; that is not my job. My concern is with India..... When British Imperialism is defeated, India will get her freedom. If, on the other hand, British Imperialism should somehow win the war, then India's slavery would be perpetuated for ever. India is therefore presented with the choice between freedom and slavery. She must make her choice.....

"Britain's paid propagandists have been calling me an enemy agent. I need no credentials when I speak to my own people. My whole life is one long persistent, uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism, and is the best guarantee of my bonafides.....All my life I have been the servant of India. Until the last hour of my life I shall remain one. My allegiance and loyalty have ever been and will ever be to India alone, no matter in which part of the world I may live.....

"If you make a dispassionate and objective study of different theatres of war to-day, you will come to the same conclusion as myself—that nothing on earth can prevent the rapid collapse of the British Empire.....Already the outposts in the Indian Ocean have passed out of the hands of British sea power.....Mandalay has fallen and Allied troops are practically expelled from Burmese soil.....

"Countrymen, when the British Empire is disappearing, the day of India's deliverance approaches. I want to remind you that in the year 1857 began India's first War of Independence. In May 1942 has begun her last War of Independence. Gird up your loins. The hour of India's salvation is at hand.....

"Azad Hind ! To fight and win India's liberty, and then build up in India, with full freedom to determine her own future—with no interference ! Free India will have a social order based on the eternal principles of Justice, Equality and Fraternity....."

## AND THE FIRE

The Lion of Bengal roared from Berlin. I was thrilled. He has a knack of putting things simply, of posing questions which strike the innermost chords in us. I should love to hear him as I see him. When will that be? The day may not be far off now.

*May 10, 1942*

I have been touring with the leaders on behalf of the I. I. L. We are recruiting members and explaining the need for the League.

Total membership has reached the figure of 95,000. The states of Penang, Perak, Kedah, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Malacca and Johore have organised branches and 22 sub-branches. Selangor has established the biggest relief camp for the sick and the poor. In Perak, negotiations are afoot to settle Indians on the land of the Sungai Manik Scheme.

I am so happy that P—understands me and my need to be active in a cause which alone can secure his freedom and the freedom of our Motherland. Gone are the days of seclusion and unofficial purdah. I feel free—Azad!

I must record two important events. Lashio fell into Jap hands on 29th April and the Burma Road is sealed. Mandalay fell on the first of May. I am told the destruction from the air has been colossal in Mandalay. Pretty Mandalay, you are in ruins! Another beauty-spot of the East has been sacrifice to the Gods of War!

*June 24, 1942*

I feel dead tired, physically tired. We have just returned from Bangkok. A conference of Indians from all parts of East Asia assembled there. Full one-hundred delegates attended. The

Conference began on the 15th and ended only yesterday. Men came from Java, Sumatra, Indo-China, Borneo, Manchukuo, Hongkong, Burma, Malaya and Japan. Representatives of the Prisoners of War also attended.

The I I L is now officially launched. Its constitution has been drafted and adopted. Its motto is: 'Unity, Faith, Sacrifice'—unity of all Indians under one organisation, faith in the immediate achievement of Indian Independence and sacrifice to the point of death for the goal of freedom.

The Conference laid down: India is one and indivisible, all activities shall be national in character,—sectional, communal or religious basis is taboo, the programme and plan of action shall be in line with the aims and intentions of the Indian National Congress, the framing of the future constitution of India would be done only by the freely elected representatives of the people of India.

The Conference also decided to organise the Azad Hind Fauj under the direct control of the Council of Action of the League. The Fauj must be accorded the powers and status of a Free National Army of Independent India on a footing of equality with the Army of Japan. It is laid down in clear terms that the Fauj shall be used only for operations against foreigners in India for the purpose of securing and safeguarding Indian National Independence and for no other purpose.

The Council of Action is to consist of a President and four members, of whom two shall be from Azad Hind Fauj. Sri P. B. P. is elected the first President, with S. N. Sanyal, K. P. K. Menon, Capt. Mohan Singh and Col. G. Q. Gidani as members.

The Council of Action has been given a printed manifesto. It is to a sure result that any military action is necessary is to

## AND THE FIRE

timed that it synchronises with a revolution in India, with a simultaneous upheaval in the British Indian Army.

The Conference has demanded a formal declaration : immediately on the severance of India from the British Empire, the Japanese Government shall respect the territorial integrity, and recognise the full sovereignty of India,—free of any foreign influence, control or interference of a political, military or economical nature.

No Indian shall be classed as enemy alien nor our property confiscated by the Japs as enemy property.

The Conference adopted the National Flag of the Indian National Congress as its flag.

We have also requested that Sri Subhas Bose be given facilities to reach East Asia and lead the Indian Independence Movement personally.

P—expects that the majority in the Prisoners of War Camp will now decide to join the Azad Hind Fauj and the I. I. L. There is a widespread demand from civilians to join the Fauj, and they are to be allowed to do so. Some of us women workers are also keen on joining. But the leaders are not sympathetic to the proposal.

I think the ex-Army men are quite justified in joining the Fauj. After all, the Oath of Loyalty is to their country. The men are certainly entitled to go their own way and implement their oath of service to their country as best as they can. And if they decide in favour of the Fauj as the best vehicle, then they are thoroughly justified.

India, Mother-land,—how these two words inspire me! I heard the speakers at the Conference with great attention. I



was moved to my roots. India has outlived the smashing up of her repeated yearnings for freedom. In spite of a hundred and fifty years of foreign unbroken rule, she still yearns—and yearns with greater intensity than before. India has witnessed her best sons and daughters being ground down in poverty and misery, their one crime being that they sought to free their motherland. —All fighting for the same cause, destined to the same ignoble fate, every time at the hands of the same torturer! And yet always a new generation has drawn unquenchable hope from the graves of the dead, and fought again the same fight. And the cycle of fight and death has gone on and on, never-ending, inexhaustible. We have refused to be cowed down. With indomitable persistency we have kept alight the fire of liberty in our hearts. We were reduced to a nation of “clerks and coolies” but the fire still burns bright. We were killed off in millions by famine and flood year after year. And yet we have managed to pass on the tiny spark to our children. And again and again the tiny spark has burst out into flames. Once again we are summoned by history to a conflagration. And we are ready to make ourselves living torches to set alight this vicious prison which is imperialism.

*August 11, 1942*

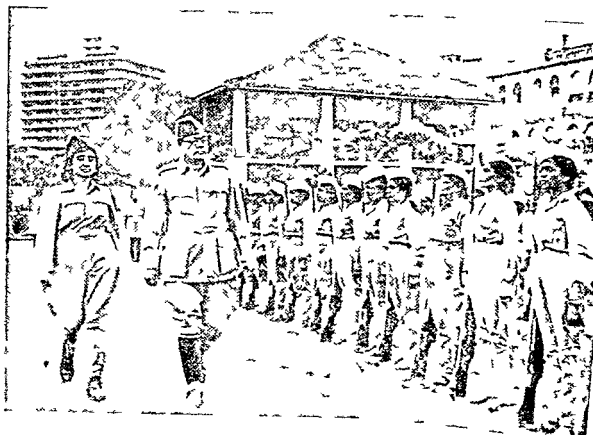
News that is ominous thunder before a mighty storm has reached Syonan today. The Indian National Congress has demanded at an A.I.C.C. meeting in Bombay that all foreigners must quit India. Mahatma Gandhi has declared “Do or Die” to all patriots. “Do not wait for lead from leaders, do what you think right, do what you think shall bring us freedom”—that is, in short, his clarion call.

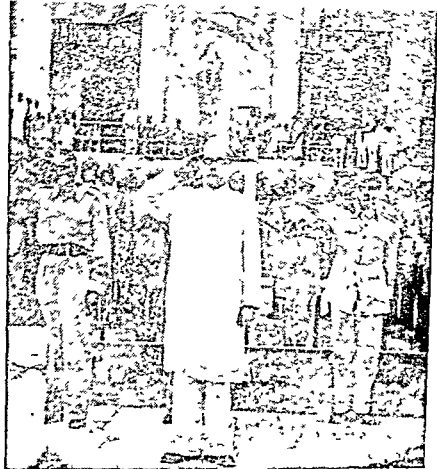
He too realises that today is the opportune moment to snatch our freedom. That was the conclusion of our Bangkok Conference. We are much relieved to find that we are on the track which is approved by the Congress.



Sri Subhas Babu at the Syonan Women's Rally

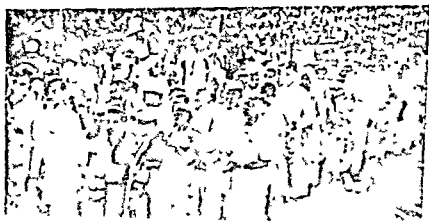
Inspection of Ram of Jhansi Regiment





"My loyalty is to India & India alone"—Sri Subhas Babu takes salute after announcing the Azad Hind Fauj to the World

Malaya merchants waiting to give gifts to Netaji.



## AND THE FIRE

The British Government has arrested Congress leaders, high and low. But now we know that on the other side of the border are active participants. We feel fortified a thousand times.

*September 16, 1942*

News has begun to percolate here of happenings in India. A vast spontaneous revolution is afoot. Every corner is affected. We must now hasten quickly with our work at this end. British Imperialism is tottering. Its last hour has struck. We shall soon relieve the White Man of his Indian burden.

Our work in Malaya is gaining ground. The membership of the League has reached the figure of 1,20,000. The sub-branches are also on the increase. The number has gone up to forty.

Prices of all things are soaring. There is a lot of money, —the Japs are printing notes by the thousand. The old dollar could buy ten times more than what it can do today. If our League was not there to succour Indians, how many would have died by starvation! Especially the lot of the labourers is pitiable.

*October 1, 1942*

We heard the Congress Radio from Bombay on 42.34 meters. Thrilling! Free India is calling the world to witness its plight.

We heard today that Subhas Babu is likely to reach East Asia in the near future. Our Council of Action is heroically struggling with the Japs to build up a first-class Indian Army. Things do not seem to be going as smoothly as anticipated. There is yet no reply to the Bangkok Conference resolutions.

Will the Japs play false? I see the unwritten question in P—'s eyes and nervous strained behaviour. Shall India have

to face treachery again? But I have hopes—I am an optimist. Subhas Babu will be able to turn the scales.

*October 17, 1942*

P—has been very busy. He has been discussing—discussing—discussing—from morn till night—and then through most of the night, with fellow officers—with the ranks—about the formation of the Indian National Army.

The I. I. L. has appealed to civilian Indians to join the Fauj. It is a voluntary business, though some say that the League should conscript every able-bodied Indian. I have heard from P—that certain Indian Officers are standing out, refusing to join the Fauj and hindering its formation. They say that they are senior to so-and-so, and will not serve under him. This is disgraceful. Have they no sense of discipline? Must they try to foist the seniority rank of the British Army on us Indians fighting the fight for freedom? Fie on them!

The Council of Action has recruited nearly 50,000 out of 56,000 Prisoners of War for the Fauj. It has warned mischief-makers and asked them not to thwart the work of the Fauj.

*November 3, 1942*

Relations with the Jap High command are deteriorating. The Council of Action has unequivocally demanded non-interference in its work by the Iwakuro Kikan, the liaison department of the Jap Army.

The clash is on a clear issue—which the Kikan dare not openly declare. The Kikan wants to use the Indian movement for the purposes of Jap aggressive intentions in India. The Council of Action is resisting—resisting valiantly, if what I heard from Sri R—is true.

We are completely at the mercy of the Japs. We have no arms—our property and money can be snatched away tomorrow.

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## AND THE FIRE

*December 10, 1942*

Events are moving fast. The Japs have yet not taken over action except the arrest of Col. G—on the 8th. The Japs have declared him a British spy. Nonsense!

The Council of Action has openly protested against the despatch of Indian soldiers to Burma, and refuses to allow a single Indian being transhipped to Burma.....

*December 13, 1942*

The troopship has returned to Burma, empty. I am told the action of the I. I. L. leaders has upset the plans of the Japs for launching a major offensive on Chittagong and Bengal.....

We must have proper safeguards from the Japs, before we can launch the offensive. If not, we are signing the doom of Indian freedom. It is not a change of masters we want in India, the Yellow instead of the White. We want guarantees that India shall be independent and free.

The Council of Action has protested against the arrest of Col. G—by the Japs without prior consultation with it. The whole Council of Action has resigned in protest against Kikan interference. Sri Rash Behari Bose, our President, is seeking facilities to go to Tokyo and see Gen. Tojo about the impasse here. He has requested that meanwhile the League Branches should go on functioning all over East Asia. He has arranged with the Jap Army authorities that they will not do anything to worsen the situation till they hear afresh from Tokyo.

The Malayan Branch of the League has accepted the advice of Sri Rash Behari with the proviso: "while the normal working of the movement is to be carried on as usual, any further forward move should be taken only after a proper declaration by the Japanese Government."

that Japan has no territorial ambitions over India does not meet the situation. We should be respected as a free nation and allowed to form a Provisional Government of India. Kikan interference must be removed totally.

P—says that the Japs are putting obstacles in the path of full training and armaments for the Fauj. The Council of Action is finding the going rough.

*November 29, 1942*

Sri R—has disbanded his Swaraj Institute as a protest against the action of the Japs in 'abducting' the boys. The Japs are very much annoyed. Sri R—may be found murdered any day, if half the threats that he and his family receive have any basis. But he is undaunted. He has closed the doors of the Institute permanently. The Japs say this is an insult to their Emperor himself. I am told Sri R—is interned in his own house in Penang. Nobody is allowed to see him.

There is another source of trouble hatching. That is about the Fauj. The Jap Army authorities have asked the Fauj to be ready to march to Burma. The Council of Action is in close-door sessions over the problem.

*December 6 1942*

A troopship has arrived in Syonan harbour for the purpose of taking the Fauj to Burma,—so I hear on reliable authority. Peremptory orders have been received by the Commandant to send his Fauj aboard at once. But the Council of Action is in long sessions. They are meeting day and night.

Anything may happen. If the Council remains firm, what will the Japs do? A question of questions. P—says that they dare not alienate Indians.



## AND THE FIRE

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December 22, 1942

The relations with the Japs have improved of late. The Kikan does not directly try to interfere in our working. The Japs have made no more arrests of any Indians. But the whereabouts of Col. G—are not yet disclosed.

But this does not mean that the Kikan has given up its game. Only it has changed the method of approach. The Kikan is fomenting a parallel organisation to the I. I. L. A Youth Movement has been launched with Kikan secret support. It is yet too early to say anything about its activities—but from the Indians who are working for it, one can say that it is a pure and simple pocket-bureau of the Japs. All its workers are henchmen—stooges—of the Jap militarists or of the Kikan. But this fascist organisation will never cut any ice with the mass of Indians.

Sri R—is still under house-arrest. But more and more friends have been permitted to see him. The latest move of the Kikan is to drop hints that if only Sri R—resigned, everything would be smooth again. They want to have a scapegoat to cover their prestige.

January 9, 1943

The Youth Movement sponsored by the Kikan is conducting a vilifying campaign against R—, M—and other leaders of the I. I. L. It is scurrilous and personal and false to the last breath. The posters for the last Youth Movement meeting were pasted in some places by Jap soldiers !

News from India is also very grave. My India—my India—my Motherland—we are eager to rush to your aid, but we do not wish to be rash. Though every wound on your body bleeds us too, we do not wish to bring future troubles on your head. We want to be certain that you shall never have to bow your beloved head to any exploiter.

## AND THE FIRE

Hemu Kalyani, a student of Karachi, was hanged to-day. The Congress Radio gave the news. His crime is patriotism under colonial rule. Horrible!

*February 13, 1943*

Feb 29, Malcolm Road is very busy these days. The headquarters is humming with activity.

The Committee of the Malaya Branch of the League has been in session for three consecutive days. It has drafted a long Memorandum to be sent to Sri Rash Behari, setting out in detail the difficulties that have arisen in the working of the League after his departure. It has also been decided that the Committee as a whole will resign, if the situation does not improve soon.....

The President has reformed & re-organised the Fauj. The situation is very critical. The Fauj will be directly under the Council of Action & take all its orders from the Council and nobody else, however eminent.

*February 15, 1943*

The Japs have come to know about the Memorandum and wish to force the resignation of Sri R—at any cost, before the Memorandum reaches Sri Rash Behari.....

Sri K—is strongly of the opinion that the Council leaders, by resigning from the League, are facilitating Jap manouvres. The leaders, after close thinking, have adopted his stand, and will no more play into the hands of the Kikan by vacating their responsible posts in the Council.....

*March 3, 1943*

At Syonan is to assemble a conference of all East Asian delegates of the League next month. The Japanese do not seem to have agreed to give Sri Rash Behari the assurances he asked for,

but have agreed to a temporary compromise plan. Sri Subhas Bose will be allowed to come here and Subhas Babu will succeed Sri Rash Behari in the Presidentship of the League

• Till then, status quo will be maintained

• Sri R—is free to move about. But he prefers to keep indoors. Apart from that, he is ill. I was told he has to undergo an operation for something or the other.

*March 10, 1943*

The Kikan has won a tactical victory over the Malaya Branch. They made the resignation of Sri R—a matter of honour for themselves. It seems Sri Rash Behari yielded to the pressure and demanded the resignation of Sri R—He has resigned. Who will take his place? We, Malaya Indians, shall never allow a stooge to occupy the Presidentship of the Malaya Branch.

Sri R—'s resignation has been an eye-opener to many of us. Such a fine man. He held a high position in the esteem of all thinking Indians in Malaya. He has sent a verbal message: "Our culture is not skin deep, our heritage is not crude. We shall not gain freedom by indulging in the cruelty of cannibals or the evasiveness of depraved slaves. We must be above meanness and selfishness. We shall fall at no nation's feet, nor shall we crush the weak in our path. We shall stick to our Dharma. That way lies our path of freeing India. I have always acted from convictions, have sought nothing for myself. Freedom is the thing we seek. With our added sacrifices, our country shall yet achieve it. This is my faith and this faith shall bear me up in my enforced inactivity. We shall and must win."

*April 9, 1943*

I have come to Bangkok. I have been asked to look through the Indian broadcasts of the Bangkok Radio and suggest improvements. The League is putting every front in line with its policy.

## AND THE FIRE

So here I am in Bangkok I have been scanning broadcasts so far delivered from this station

The All India Radio, from Delhi is railing at us, declaring us to be enemies But there is not one word said by us, or one act performed, about which we are ashamed We lay claim to be honest patriots working for our country's freedom 'Let the two sets of broadcasts, from Delhi and Bangkok, be placed side by side and let an international tribunal say which is patriotic. I have no doubt about the answer

We are giving on the 13th a grand programme on Jallianwalla Bagh episode Dramas, songs and speeches have been specially prepared for it.

*April 18, 1943*

An East Asiatic Conference of all Indians was held at 19, Chancery Lane, our Malaya head-office It was announced that Sri Subhas Babu would arrive from Europe in two months' time

The whole Independence movement is now placed on a war-footing A drive for collection of money and material is also decided upon A scheme for centralised pooling of all resources and working on a budget basis has been approved

All branches and sub-branches will be re-organised and activated

Miss C—and Mr P—came to tea today We had a long chat. Miss C—looks so mild But when she described to me her experiences in Rangoon, I could feel the warmth of the fire that burns in her Her father was a head-clerk in a Rangoon business office He was killed in the first bombing of Rangoon Mr P—is a Barrister, and practised in the High Court of Rangoon

I shall try to recapitulate the story as they related it.

Miss C—began :

"When the Japanese bombed Rangoon for the first time, we had no shelters worth the name. The British Governor had got one constructed for himself at a fabulous cost of Rs. 30,000/-. But the general population was left to fend for itself. The Japanese came suddenly and unexpectedly. Nearly a thousand were killed—that was the official figure. But we knew that nearly ten thousand must have met their unnatural fate on that day.

"Rangoon rocked when the bombs struck it, as if there was an earthquake. Buildings became ruins, roads had craters, broken glass was everywhere, trees and telegraph poles lay right across the streets,—electric wires, human bodies, smashed cars and rickshaws all lay in entangled heaps. Water mains burst. Everybody tried to leave Rangoon. Trains and roads were choked with human beings on the march. The docks were deserted by the dock-workers. There were no servants to be had anywhere. My man servant had also gone. Trams and buses had nobody to ply them. Everybody was running north—away from the Japanese air target. Mingalodon Airfield had been plastered and not a single building was left standing. The air raid siren had also been bombed.

"Day by day the streets became worse. In a week the garbage had piled into small hillocks. Even the dead in public highways—victims of the bombing—lay untouched for three days.

"On Christmas Day the Japs came again for the second bombing. They had earlier thrown leaflets, asking all Asiatics to leave the city. Nearly three fourths of the population vanished. Rangoon was deserted as if the curse of God had visited it.

"The Civil Government had collapsed. The heavenly bureaucrats of the Civil Service had broken down. There was looting and thefts in the night. But the police could not cope

## AND THE FIRE

with anything. The Rangoon Gazette came out with a headline: "Our Finest Fighting Efficiency will be when the Bureaucrats have gone". And that from Mr. Stone, an Englishman! He had to go off on enforced leave for that article!

"Burma is called 'military backwaters', but what stinking pools of ignorance and arrogance had been collected by the British in their Government and Military top-command can only be realised by those who lived under them in Rangoon."

Mr. P—said:

"When the Japs actually reached the doors of Rangoon, all scavengers and municipal service men, including the Fire Brigade men, were nowhere to be found. The doors of Jails, the Leper Asylum and the Lunatic Asylum had been opened, and dangerous men let loose on the streets. This was the work of the heaven-born Civil Service. Rangoon was burning, with fires lighted by nobody knows who. Quite a number of the fires were the work of the criminals, who did not wish to leave traces behind, after sacking a house whose inhabitants had left.

"Why the Government let loose these jail-birds and mad-men is more than I can tell. But it is typical of the way in which the British behaved all over Burma. They only thought of their own skin. The rest did not matter.

"And how we suffered at the hands of the criminals. That day I became anti-British. I realised that my loyalty was misplaced, that I might prefer any slavery but not under the British. We had served them, stood by them, shed our blood for them, and now we were left to the tender mercies of criminals and lunatics.

"And before the Japanese arrived on the 8th morning, terrific explosions had already scorched-earth the City. At three in the afternoon of the 7th, the oil-refineries and petrol dumps at

Syrian and Dunceadaw were set on fire, the electric power-station was smashed, food and other godowns were burnt. Darkness, due to thick smoke, descended into the streets and houses by day. The lights did not work. The glow of the burning fires was all that we had. These fires burnt day and night for the best part of the coming week.

"On our way to our house in Merchant Street we saw madmen, completely nude, sitting on top of garbage heaps eating filth. Before the sun went down on the 7th, Rangoon was deserted by the last Englishman, Major Mains.

"On the 8th morning the Japanese arrived through the villages of Wav and Daikoo. And the Japanese appeared to us as saviours. They brought order into the town. People slowly streamed back; the criminal elements were suppressed and locked up again; ....."

It was late in the evening when they left. The experience they have undergone has scared their faces. They will never be the same persons again. They have been face to face with death, and greater than death, terror, the fear of losing life. Their memory has endless miles of sorrow furrowed into it.

*May 19, 1943*

Mr. S—was with us for dinner last night. He is a timber merchant from Mandalay. He has married a Burmese wife and has several children. He told us many things about the retreating British Army and also about the Japanese when they took Mandalay on the first of this month.

Mr. S—was suspected by the British of having a hand in the disappearance of Ba Maw from Mandalay Jail towards the end of last March. He says he had nothing to do with it.

The story of Ba Maw has become legend in Burma.



## AND THE FIRE

Ba Maw, the ex-Prime Minister of Burma, was jailed when the war began. He was suspected to be corresponding with the Japs. U. Saw was Prime Minister then. U. Saw did not do anything for Ba Maw, as they were political rivals.

Soon nemesis overtook U. Saw. When he was returning to Burma from the U. S. A., he was arrested and locked up by the British for the same offence,—suspected of negotiating with the Japs. U. Saw had gone to England to demand the immediate declaration of Burmese Dominion Status. The British said no. He went to the U. S. A., published the refusal, and was now arrested.

Towards the end of March a "highly-placed messenger" arrived from Maymyo, where the Governor of Burma is taking refuge. He walked into the Jail of Mandalay and was closetted with Ba Maw for long hours. The British were ready to release Ba Maw unconditionally, if he promised to co-operate with them in keeping Burma loyal to the British. The first guarantee was that he should issue a public statement as soon as he was released that the British had already conferred practical self-government on the Burmese, that Burma had independence in substance and in practice.

But Ba Maw had other plans,—evidently. He prevaricated. He raised difficulties. The messenger went back to Maymyo for further consultations. In Maymyo the terms of Ba Maw were rejected. It was decided to shift him to an Indian jail for safe and secure custody. The messenger came back with an armed guard, to take Ba Maw. But Ba Maw was nowhere to be found. He had disappeared. Nobody knew how and when.

Subhas Babu had disappeared from Calcutta with the C.I.D. keeping strict watch outside his house. This was another disappearance, under more difficult conditions.

There are monkeys too. And the birds and wild flowers are wonderful. The wild beauty of a luxuriant tropical jungle is there. But after a time the jungle over-powers you, suffocates you. You feel a choking sensation.

It was through these jungles, dressed like the poor labourers, that the Japanese first infiltrated into Malaya. The jungle tribes were their guides.

P—keeps low fever. I must get the doctor to test his blood for Malaria or some jungle fever. P—says Malaria is the greatest curse and kills more Indians than anything else.

## DAWN OF FREEDOM:

*June 20, 1943*

Hurrah! Subhas Babu has reached Tokyo. He arrived in a submarine and was accompanied by a Muslim young man, Mr. Hassan. Tokyo gave him a rousing reception, worthy of the leader of all Indians outside India, worthy of a great revolutionary leader who has defied the might of British Imperialism so many times. Some of our leaders are in Tokyo for the purpose of posting him up with all that has happened.

*The Press Statement of Subhas Babu is important:*

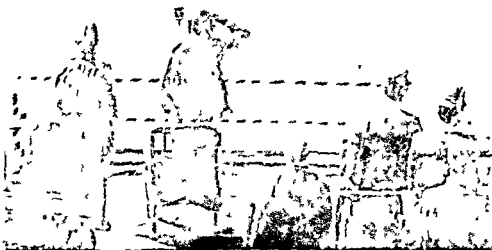
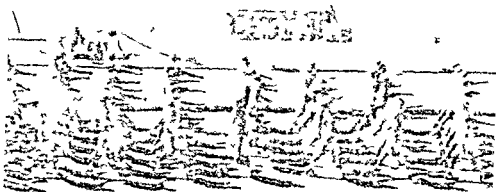
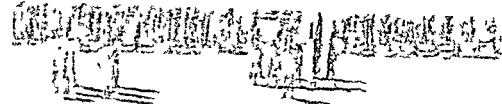
“During the last World War our leaders had been bluffed and deceived by the wily British politicians. That was why we took the vow more than 20 years ago never again to be deceived by them.

“For more than 20 years my generation has striven for freedom and eagerly awaited the hour that has now struck, —the hour that is for the Indian people the dawn of freedom.



'Mahatma! Father of our Nation' In this holy war for India's liberation, we ask for your blessings and good wishes"

—Sri Subhas Bose broadcasting to India (July 6, 1944)



Comrades! The Azad Hind Fauj has only one single aim—the liberation of Mother India, the Fauj has only one destination—the ancient Red Delhi Fort! The Provisional Government and its army are the servants of the Indian Nation."

—Sri Subhas Bose announces the aim of the Fauj

(October 23, 1943)

## DAWN OF FREEDOM

"We know very well such an opportunity will not come again for another 100 years and we are therefore determined to make the fullest use of it.

"British Imperialism has meant for India moral degradation, cultural ruin, economic impoverishment and political enslavement.....

"It is our duty to pay for our liberty with our own blood. The freedom that we shall win, through our sacrifice and exertions, we shall be able to preserve with our own strength.

"The enemy that has drawn the sword must be fought with the sword. Civil disobedience must develop into armed struggle. And only when the Indian people receive the baptism of fire on a large scale will they qualify for their freedom....."

*June 21, 1943*

Today we heard the first broadcast by Subhas Babu from Tokyo. I have recorded passages which would help me in my work amongst the women. He has a knack of putting things simply and effectively :

"So far as India is concerned what is most important to all of us is the situation near India.

"During the whole history of the British in India, it had not struck one single British General that at any stage in the future, some enemy of the British might appear on the Eastern Frontier of India. The whole attention of Britain's military strategists has therefore been concentrated on the North-West Frontier of India.....

"With the naval fortress of Singapore in their possession, our rulers thought that India was safe in their hands.

The dynamic advance of Generals Yamashita and Ida opened the eyes of the world to the worthlessness of British strategy...

"Since then General Wavell has been making feverish attempts to put up fortifications on the Eastern Frontier of India. But what the Indian people are asking is this: If it took them almost 20 years to build Singapore, and only one week to lose it, how long will it take the British C-in-C or his successor to withdraw from his fortifications?

"To us Indians, what is of primary importance is not what is happening at Tunis, Timbuctoo or in Lampedusa or Alaska, but what is happening inside India and across our frontier.

"What is of primary importance to us is that the much advertised reconquest of Burma has ended in a shameful retreat.....

"Even the fall of Singapore, and the loss of Burma, the greatest disasters in British military history could not bring about any appreciable change. British Imperialism remains inexorable. Men may come and men may go, empires may come and empires may go, but British Imperialism goes on forever,—that is what our rulers continue to think.....

"You may call it lack of statesmanship or political bankruptcy, or midsummer madness. But this midsummer madness has its own explanation.

"The British Empire has grown out of India. The British people know, no matter to which political party they belong, that they need to reap all the resources of India. To them empire means India. They are now fighting madly to preserve that empire. Consequently, no matter what fate besets Britain during the course of this war, the Englishman

## DAWN OF FREEDOM

will endeavour to the very last to keep his empire,—that is, to hold on to India

“Therefore, if I may speak frankly, I would say that it is not midsummer madness that British politicians refuse to recognise India's independence though they are in a terrible plight, it is midsummer madness that we should expect the Englishman voluntarily to give up his empire. No Indian should ever cherish the illusion that one day England will be induced to recognise India's independence

“But that is not to say that British politicians will never again compromise with India

“Personally, I expect another such attempt some time this year. But what I want to point out, my countrymen, is that by compromise the British politicians will never recognise India's independence, but will only try to bluff the Indian people

“Protracted negotiations are planned to side track the campaign for independence and thereby undermine the national will, as they did between December 1941 and April 1942

“Therefore, we should, once and for all, give up hope of any compromise with British Imperialism. Our independence admits of no compromises. Freedom is only won when the British and their allies quit India for good. And those who really want liberty must fight for it and pay for it with their own blood

“Countrymen and Friends let us therefore carry on the fight for liberty, inside India and outside India, with all our strength and vigour. Let us continue the battle with unshakable faith till the day that British Imperialism will be broken up and out of its ashes India will once again emerge an independent nation,

'In this struggle there is no going back, and there can be no faltering. We must march onward and forward till victory is achieved and freedom won

Magnificent !

June 24, 1943

Yet another broadcast by Subhas Babu. The clarion call has been sounded

Some of my countrymen have been expecting that under the pressure of an international crisis the imperialistic powers like Britain might be induced to recognise the independence of enslaved countries like India, but all such expectations have been completely misplaced

You are aware that towards the end of 1940 since I saw that Mahatma Gandhi had at long last launched civil disobedience campaign I felt that the honour and prestige of Indian people had been vindicated, and it was necessary to plan the Indian Revolution on a larger scale and in an effective manner in order to bring it to fruition. Today I am in a position to announce to you that all these objectives have been fully achieved. We know the international situation at first hand and we are therefore convinced of our ultimate victory

'All Indians outside India who are not living in countries directly under the control of our enemies have now been brought together into one well built organisation. They are following closely developments inside India and on the other hand they are keeping unimpeded contact with international events. They are making all possible preparations to bring at the right time the maximum assistance to you who have been carrying on the struggle at home in spite of internment, persecution and brutality



## DAWN OF FREEDOM

"Friends, you may remember that I have in the past assured you more than once that when the hour strikes I, and many others like myself, will be by your side to share the glory of fighting and suffering side by side, and share with you the joy of victory as well..... We are now fulfilling that pledge.....

"India shall be free,—and before long. And a free India will throw open the prison gates, so that her worthy sons may step out of the darkness of the prison cells into the light of freedom."

*June 29, 1943*

Subhas Babu has appealed to the East Asia Indians to join hands with him to raise an army to fight for the liberation of India.

"The task of liberating India is ours, and ours alone. That responsibility we shall not cast on anybody else because that would be against our national honour

"But the enemy is ruthless and desperate and he is armed to the teeth. Against such a foe, no amount of civil disobedience, or sabotage, or revolutionary terrorism can be of any avail. If, therefore, we want to expel British Power from India, we have to fight the enemy with his own weapons. The enemy has already drawn the sword—he must therefore be fought with the sword.

"I am confident that with the help of my countrymen in East Asia I shall be able to organize a gigantic force which will be able to sweep away British power from India..... The hour has struck, and every Indian must advance towards the field of battle. When the blood of freedom-loving Indians begins to flow, India will attain her freedom."

There is great enthusiasm on all sides. We are all very busy. P—comes home very late—one and two in the night—by seven in the morning he is out again. The arrival of Subhas Babu in Syonan, and the Conference at which he will assume our leadership, have to be properly prepared. I am on the Decoration Committee. We have secured a huge painting of Gandhiji. It will dominate the proceedings. For the big march past of the Fauj, we are preparing the figure of Mother India holding the National Flag in her hand. We have decided to have simple yet effective decorations. Nothing superfluous is to be permitted.

July 2, 1943

Subhas Babu arrived today. Man, woman & child turned out to welcome him. It was a breath-taking display of love and admiration. A sea of humanity—Indians, Malayans, Chinese and Japanese—jostled and got themselves crushed for a look at the great revolutionary.

With his upright and erect carriage, his head held high, proudly unbending, smiling his enchanting smile, Subhas Babu has captured all hearts. We feel confident that here is a leader who can be trusted to take us along to our goal. His photographs do not do justice to his fine physique and manly height. I had a good look at him in our office at Chancery Lane, where he met the local workers. He has a smile which disarms all opposition. When irrepressible Mr D—insisted on casting doubts on Jap reliability, Subhas Babu just turned to him and smiled, and then said

“Do you believe that I have brains enough not to be fooled by them? Then trust my word when I assure you that I am sure Japs cannot double-cross us. They can only do that if we do not organise properly, if we fail in raising a proper army of Indians to fight for our freedom. We shall

## DAWN OF FREEDOM

have to be awake and alive, on our guard,—not only against the enemy British Imperialism, against the imperialistically-inclined Japanese bureaucrats, but also against Indians in our own ranks. With discipline, we must be ready for every sacrifice. Let each man be ready to work. I bring you enough work. Work—work—and work—that is your and my burden."

July 3, 1943

Subhas Babu has been meeting the Fauj leaders today. Yesterday he was closeted with the League workers from Hong-kong, Thailand, Burma, Borneo, etc.

P—had a short interview with Subhas Babu and informed him about his impressions of his North Malaya tour. P—says he has not met a leader so well informed as Subhas Babu. He already knows the small place-names on the map, the climate and difficult conditions in the jungles, the details of the plans and methods adopted by the Japs to outwit the British Army. P—says there was not a thing he told him which was new. What has impressed P—most is the technical knowledge about modern warfare and modern armies which Subhas Babu showed. He is a real leader of the people.

July, 4, 1943

The inaugural session of the Conference was held today.

When Subhas Babu spoke there was tense silence. Every word was audible.

"Friends! The time has now come for freedom-loving Indians to act. Action in a War-crisis demands, above all, military discipline, as well as unflinching loyalty to the cause. I, therefore, call upon all my country-men in East Asia to

line up in one solid phalanx and prepare for the grim fight that is ahead of us. I am confident that they will do so. ...

"I have publicly declared several times that when I left homeland in 1941, on an important mission, it was in accordance with the will of the vast majority of my countrymen. Since then, despite all the restrictions imposed by the C I D., I have remained in constant touch with my countrymen at home

"Patriotic Indians abroad have been working as genuine trustees of the freedom-fighters at home. I can assure everybody once again that whatever we have done up till now, or may do in future, has been and will be for the freedom of India, and we shall never do anything that is either against the interests of India or will not be in accordance with the will of our people.....

"In order to mobilise all our forces effectively, I intend organising a Provincial Government of Free India . . . . By winning freedom through our own efforts and sacrifice, we shall be acquiring the strength whereby we shall preserve our liberty for all time . . . . I warn you that though we are absolutely sure of our final victory, we can never afford to under-estimate the enemy, and we should even be prepared for temporary setbacks. We have a grim fight ahead of us—for the enemy is at once powerful, unscrupulous and ruthless. In this final march to freedom, you will have to face hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. Only when you pass this test, will freedom be yours. I am confident that you will do so and thereby bring freedom and prosperity to your enslaved and impoverished land . . . ."

*July 5, 1943*

Our soldiers marched proudly at the Military Review in front of the Town Hall. I watched from the dais. I was one of the

## DAWN OF FREEDOM

batch of girls who sang the National Song When P—marched past, saluting Netaji, I could see the great admiration he bears for his leader come in electric darts to the dais P—and his men are ready to shed their last drop of blood for our country's freedom Their zeal and enthusiasm has reached white heat What is most note-worthy is the way all petty intrigues have been abandoned, all quarrels forgotten Netaji has certainly transformed all of us We feel different

An irresistible torrent flowed from Netaji's lips

“Soldiers of India's Army of Liberation

‘Today is the proudest day of my life Today it has pleased Providence to give me the unique honour of announcing to the whole world that India's Army of Liberation has come into being This Army has now been drawn up in military formation on the battlefield of Singapore, which was once the bulwark of the British Empire This is the Army that will emancipate India from British yoke .. Every Indian must feel proud that this Indian Army has been organised entirely under Indian leadership and that when the historic moment arrives, under Indian leadership it will go into battle Standing today on the graveyard of the British Empire, even a child is convinced that the almighty British Empire is already a thing of the past

“Comrades ! My soldiers ! let your battle cry be ‘To Delhi, to Delhi’ How many of us will individually survive this war of freedom, I do not know But I do know this, that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the Victory parade on another graveyard of the British Empire—the Lal Killa of Ancient Delhi

“Throughout my public career, I have always felt that though India is otherwise ripe for independence in every way,

she lacks one thing : an army of liberation. George Washington of America could fight and win freedom, because he had his army. Garibaldi could liberate Italy because he had his armed volunteers behind him. *It is your privilege and honour to be the first to come forward and organize India's National Army.....Soldiers who always remain faithful to their nation, who perform their duty under all circumstances, and who are always prepared to sacrifice their lives, are invincible. Engrave these three ideals in the inmost core of your hearts.*

"Comrades ! You are today the custodians of India's national honour and the embodiment of India's hopes and aspirations. So conduct yourselves that your countrymen may bless you and posterity may be proud of you. I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory. For the present, I can offer you nothing except hunger, thirst, suffering, forced marches and death.' It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free and that we shall give our all to make her free. May God now bless our Army and grant us victory in the coming fight !"

Netaji is resolving the obstacles that appeared like impassable mountains to the League leadership.

This announcement to the world of the existence of the Azad Hind Fauj and the motives behind its formation, was not permitted by the Kikan so far. This was one of our chief grievances. Subhas Babu has come and conquered. His engaging and dynamic personality has dissolved this obstacle as stormy rain would dissolve a heap of salt. Tomorrow Gen. Tojo salutes the Fauj.

July 6, 1943

It was a grand sight—the salute which Gen. Tojo gave to the Fauj as it marched past. Netaji stood shoulder to shoulder

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with the Premier of Japan, and our brave lads walked in front of them with manly strides, confident of the strength that militant and armed patriotism provides. Our National Flag—the Flag of India—was carried shoulder high. For a full hour and a half the Fauj was marching, and Gen. Tojo stood at attention & saluted.

In the night P—brought several friends to dinner. It was mixed company.

Mr. L—, the Malayan, explained to us many things which were all new and interesting. He said that the British had never conquered Malaya by the sword,—it was by deceit, and with the aid of money, that they had ‘purchased’ Malaya. He gave instances. Singapore was ‘purchased’ from the Johore Sultan in 1819, Penang from the Kedah Sultan in 1786, Malacca from the Dutch. Perak’s history was significant. In 1824 the independence of Perak was guaranteed by Britain and Thailand. Till 1874, the Sultan ruled undisturbed. Then the Sultan was foolish enough to appeal to the British for help in some internal strife. A British Resident arrived on the scene and got murdered, probably by British agents. A punitive expedition followed, the murderers were arrested and hanged, but Perak became a British possession!

The story of Selangor was similar, as of Negri Sembilan and Pahang. Local disturbances—a British national takes a hand—is killed or something—a punitive armed force appears—the territory is attached!

*In all not more than hundred Britishers must have sacrificed their lives in these ‘purchase’ transactions, glorified as conquest.*

The British had expected the Japs to attack along the eastern coast, the Japs attacked at Kota Bahru, but went through the length of the peninsula mostly down the western plains. The British thought that the jungles were impassable, the Japs found enough guides to take them along the jungle trails in safety. The

British had a low opinion of the Jap army equipments. Therefore, they had only two six inch guns in Penang beach defences only at Kota Bahru and three or four other points, no tanks or tank traps no gun-emplacements, no pill boxes—nothing. The British thought that Formosa was the nearest Jap naval base a distance of a thousand and five hundred miles, when the Japs swung the lead they had Saigon as base only six hundred miles distant. In Singapore the British had always thought the danger point to be the wide seas. So all their heavy naval guns fixed in cement concrete foundations could not point to the northern end of the island from which the Japs came. They faced south, the 'danger seas'. Those whom the Gods wish to destroy first become blind. Mr L—says that no other explanation can satisfy the easy victory of the Japs against the British.

It was late at night when we dispersed. Mr L—had monopolised the conversation. He is an interesting man. We must invite him often.

July 9, 1943

Today was the huge mass rally. It was held at the Padang in front of the Municipal Offices. Some lakh and more gathered to hear Netaji speak—a veritable sea of heads. Enthusiasm was great. There is something very loveable the way our Netaji behaves with the people. He is very considerate to women and children. He is never rude even when the crowd gets out of hand and jostles him in its keenness to see him or touch him. Yesterday Netaji visited our office. An old lady at the gate tried to touch his feet. He lifted her up and made her give him blessings on his bent head. He called her 'Mother'. We had tears in our eyes when he later told us about the tender and solicitous mother he had left behind in Calcutta.

Netaji stands upright and erect as he speaks into the mike. He has few gestures. He does not indulge in hysterical oratory. In a sober, sedate, yet firm voice, he argues and argues and argues.



## DAWN OF FREEDOM

Every man and woman in the audience feels that he is talking to him or her in particular. He indulges in no theatricals. No water to be sipped, nobody to fan him, not a scrap of notes to help memory, no fuss and no fluster of papers. He stands as if your father was standing in front of you, appealing to you, reasoning with you, emphatically appealing to the better side of your nature. You feel you must be a cad, a selfish brute, an anti-social creature not to co-operate with him, to refuse him the things he asks for. He is a spell-binder alright, but minus the hokus-pokus of a magician

His voice rolled out from the high platform :

"I would like to tell you quite frankly what made me leave home and homeland, on a journey that was fraught with danger of every kind. I was lodged safely in a British Prison, when I silently resolved to risk everything in the attempt to escape from the clutches of the British. Having been in prison eleven times, it was much easier and much safer for me to continue there, but I felt that the cause of India's independence demanded a journey abroad, regardless of the risk that it involved.

"It took me full three months of prayer and meditation to decide if I had strength enough to face death in fulfilling my duty. Before I could slip out of India, I had to get out of prison—and in order to do so, I had to go on hunger strike, demanding my release. I knew that neither in India, nor in Ireland, had a prisoner succeeded in forcing the British Government to release him. I knew also that Terence Macswiney and Jatin Das had died in the attempt to force the Government's hands. But I felt convinced that I had an historic task to fulfil. So I took the plunge, and after seven days of hunger-strike, the Government unexpectedly got unnerved and set me free, with the intention of taking me back to prison again after a month or two. But before they could seize me again, I became a free man.....

"Friends ! You know that I have been actively working in the independence movement ever since I left the University in 1921. I have been through all the civil disobedience campaigns during the last two decades. In addition to this, I have been repeatedly put in prison without trial, on the suspicion of having been connected with secret revolutionary movements—whether non-violent or violent.....In the light of this experience, I came to the conclusion that all the efforts that we could put forward inside India, would not suffice to expel the British from our country.....

"To put it briefly, therefore, my object in leaving India was to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home..... On the other hand, the supplementary help from outside which the national struggle at home so urgently needs is in reality very small. The help that our countrymen at home needed and still need is a two-fold one : moral and material. Firstly, they have to be morally convinced that their victory is assured. Secondly, they have to be given military help from outside.....

"The time has come when I can openly tell the whole world including our enemies, as to how it is proposed to bring about national liberation. - Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organise a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India. When we do so, a revolution will break out, not only among the civil population at home, but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British Flag. When the British Government is thus attacked from both sides—from inside India and from outside—it will collapse, and the Indian people will then regain their liberty. According to my plan, therefore, it is not even necessary to bother about the attitude of the Axis Powers towards India. If Indians outside and inside India will do their duty, it is possible for the Indian people to throw the British out of

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India and liberate 388 millions of their countrymen..... Friends, let the slogan of the three million Indians in East Asia be "Total Mobilisation for a Total War.".....Out of this total mobilisation, I expect at least three lakhs soldiers and three crores of dollars. I want also a unit of brave Indian women to form a death-defying Regiment who will wield the sword which the brave Rani of Jhansi wielded in India's First War of Independence in 1857. . . .

" Our countrymen at home are now hard pressed and they are demanding a Second Front. Give me total mobilisation in East Asia and I promise you a second front—a real second front for the Indian struggle."

As Netaji was speaking torrential rains came down. Netaji said only one sentence "Do not get up or leave. Stay put Rain cannot frighten us" Not a soul moved. Everybody was soaked to the skin, but not one budged. Netaji was overwhelmed by our discipline, especially of the women with babes in their arms.

P—has been selected to act as A D C. to Netaji.

I am joining the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. It will be grand, —handling arms. P—, you won't find me far behind you !

*July 12, 1943*

The Women's section of the I. I. L. convened a mass meeting of Indian women. It was addressed by Netaji. The audience hung on each syllable as it dropped from the powerful jaws of our beloved leader. Women had walked ten and twelve miles to the meeting place. The hall was fully packed two hours before he arrived.

We smothered him in our garlands We sang revolutionary songs Then Netaji spoke, and asked for recruits for the Rani of Jhansi Regiment and the Red Cross Unit. A Gujarati lady,

gave away all her jewellery bangles, rings, necklace that she was wearing, as gift to Netaji for work by women. Netaji began

"Sisters,

"You all know, as well as I do, the part our women at home have played in the Freedom Movement, especially during the last twenty two years, since the year 1921, when the Congress was reborn under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. It is not only in connection with the Congress movement of Civil Disobedience, but also in connection with the secret revolutionary movement, that our sisters have played a noble part. In fact, it will be no exaggeration for me to say that there is no sphere of public activity, there is no department of national endeavour, in which Indian women have not gladly and bravely shared, along with our men, the burden of our national struggle. Whether it is touring from village to village without food and drink, whether it is lecturing at one meeting after another, whether it is carrying the Freedom message from door to door, whether it is running election campaigns or whether it is leading processions along public streets in defiance of official orders and in spite of lathi charges by the inhuman British Police, or whether it is facing bravely imprisonment and persecution, insult and humiliation, nowhere have our women been found wanting. Our brave sisters have also played a prominent part in the secret revolutionary movement. They have shown that when the need arises they could like their brothers, shoot very well. If to-day I express my fullest confidence in you, it is because I know what our women are capable of and therefore I say without the slightest exaggeration that there is no suffering which our sisters are not capable of enduring.

History teaches us that every Empire has its fall just as it has its rise. And the time has come for the British Empire to disappear from the face of this world. We see



"There is no sphere of our activity in which our Women



"The 'Death-Delying' Regiment  
which wields the sword which  
the Rani of Jhansi wielded"

## DAWN OF FREEDOM

with our own eyes how that Empire has disappeared from this part of the world. It shall disappear from another part of the world, from India, as well.....

"If there is anyone either here or elsewhere who thinks that it is an unwomanly act to shoulder a rifle, I would ask her to turn to the pages of our history. What had our brave women done in past? What did the brave Rani of Jhansi do in the Revolution of 1857, India's First War of Independence. It was this queen who with drawn sword on horse back led her men to battle. Through our ill-luck she fell, she failed, and India failed. But we have to continue and complete the work which the Great Rani undertook in 1857...

"Therefore in the last and final War of Independence we want not one Rani of Jhansi, but thousands and thousands of Ranis of Jhansi. It is not the number of rifles you may carry or the number of shots you may fire which is important. Equally important is the moral effect of your brave example."

Two "Azad Schools" are training Inspectors for the different camps; one is situated in Syonan and the other at Penang. Two batches of students have already qualified. I am joining the third. Netaji has waived aside the objection of our old leaders against military training for women. He is a real modern man. His outlook is wide and progressive.

*July 25, 1943*

Today I had Mrs. T—and Miss S—for tea. Miss S—is from Penang, and described to us her experiences when the British ran away from Penang, leaving all Asiatics to the mercy of the on-coming Japs.

This was what she said:

"On December 11th, before I had got out of my bed, some thirty Japanese bombers attacked our city. The whole thing

lasted for two and a half hours. On three successive days Penang was bombed

"I cannot describe to you the mad confusion that resulted from the bombing. There were hundreds of fires, and the number of buildings that had collapsed was something unimaginable. The fire brigade station had received a direct hit, and therefore no fire engines were available. The fires had to burn themselves out, and the living had to sit and watch all their belongings—even the things that could have been saved—burn to ashes. Labour of every sort had run away to the Mainland. There were corpses in the streets which stank filthily. I have seen *pariah dogs feasting on hands and legs and rotting carcasses*. Rats, big fat rats as we find in the fields, had attacked the streets. They had left the tumbled down houses to eat in the streets and live in the debris. Most of the shops had shut and nothing could be bought in the markets.

"Then there were thieves who sprang up from nowhere, everywhere at once. The police had disappeared. Gangs of hooligans had taken possession of several areas. It was impossible to stir out. The ferry services had stopped also. Even the scavengers had gone, and night soil accumulated in heaps in every house. We lived through hell!

"And the worst was that there was no Government official to help the people. The British had withdrawn into a corner and lived exclusive lives, guarding themselves with revolvers and guns and cornering most of the available provisions. On the third day evacuation was decided upon. But no Asiatic was permitted to leave. The local Military and Government Officers declared that only pure blooded British would be allowed to evacuate. Not even Eurasians. I know of several Eurasian ladies married to English businessmen. Mrs B—was a friend of mine. Her husband went, leaving her behind. She was not qualified, being a Eurasian! This was a complete eye-opener for all of us



## DAWN OF FREEDOM

—Indians, Chinese, Malaysians and even the Eurasians All the talk about justice and democracy and equality was hoax practised on us They left us behind, knowing that the Japanese may perpetrate the worst possible atrocities on us

This is a story that one hears of most places in Malaya. The British Colonist, in the hour of the debacle of his Empire, has shown himself to be a sorry specimen of humanity The mighty have fallen There is not an honest dog to bark in their memory or over their fate

*August 1, 1943*

News is daily being received in our office of increasing enthusiasm in the drive for League membership There are now ten State branches and fifty sub-branches in Malaya alone Membership has roughly touched the figure of one lakh and seventy thousand

Volunteers from all over Malaya are sending in applications to join the Fauj Netaji has laid down that the Army must be a voluntary army, and no compulsion—not even social pressure—is to be employed for getting recruits He is quite right in this

There is every need to pick and choose soldiers of our freedom army. Delhi Radio has been asking the British Army men to join the Fauj and cross over to the British on the fields of battle We do not want traitors in our ranks, and unwilling horses are potential traitors

Gifts—money and in kind—are daily being received from the most distant settlements There is no doubt about it Everywhere there is optimism and activity Netaji has become the main lever of our movement But he always repeats one thing wherever he goes “We do not set up idols in modern times. We do not place all our eggs in one basket. We must remember

that the movement is greater than every individual in it. We do not have a one man dictatorship. We are all fellow-fighters in the field."

It has been decided to hold a mass rally on the 15th, when Netaji would be in Syonan. The revolution in India is completing its first year on the 9th.

*August 10, 1943*

In every corner of Malaya and East Asia, hundreds of meetings have taken place on 9th August, the anniversary of the revolution in India. In Syonan we had a big meeting with the photos of Gandhiji, Jawaharlal and Sardar Vallabhbhai.

*August 15, 1943*

Thirty thousand people flocked to hear Netaji at the Farrer Park today. The sky was rent with cries of "Azad Hind Zindabad" when Netaji began to speak :

"A year has rolled by since Mahatma Gandhi was put in prison for the crime of demanding the withdrawal of the British from India. Since then the civil disobedience movement as well as sabotage activities have gone on with unabated vigour. But we have not won freedom. And we shall not win freedom till we put up a second front on the Indo-Burma frontier and call upon the Indian people and the British Indian Army to take up arms against the British and their allies in India.....

"It is today a very great pleasure for me to see so many of my Muslim countrymen in this gathering of ours. I thank them heartily for the welcome they have given me and for the handsome purse they have offered for the Indian Independence Movement ... And let the whole world know, and let our enemies know, that all Indians in East Asia are united regardless of religion or caste and they are determined to fight for the freedom of their common Motherland,"

## DAWN OF FREEDOM

Netaji announced that during the next two months, a large portion of the Fauj will be on the road to Burma,—then to India. The I. I. L. Headquarters will also shift to Rangoon. That means P— and I must pack up. We are ready now, Netaji!

Subhas Babu made a feeling reference to the death of Sri Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji's Secretary, in Poona Special Jail in the Agakhan Bungalow,—whose death anniversary was being observed all over India. A Gujarati merchant, who had known Sri Mahadev personally, gave details of the greatness of his sacrifices and devotion to the Mahatma. He referred to the relationship of Mahadev and Mahatma as Boswell to Johnson. His death is in the list we have to avenge—Chalo Dilli!

August 25, 1943

Netaji formally assumed direct command over the Fauj today. His Special Order of the Day is a fine document.

"In the interest of the Indian Independence Movement and of the Azad Hind Fauj, I have taken over the direct command of our Army from this day.

"This is for me a matter of joy and pride—for an Indian there can be no greater honour than to be the Commander of India's Army of Liberation.

"I regard myself as the servant of 38 crores of my countrymen. I am determined to discharge my duties in such a manner that the interests of these 38 crores may be safe and that every single Indian will have reason to put complete trust in me. It is only on the basis of undiluted nationalism and of perfect justice and impartiality that India's Army of Liberation can be built up.

"In the coming struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland,... the Azad Hind Fauj has a vital role to play. To fulfil this role, we must weld ourselves into an

army that will have only one goal—Freedom of India,—and only one will—to do or die in the cause of India's freedom. When we stand, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a wall of granite, when we march, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a steam roller.

"Our task is not an easy one, the war will be long and hard, but I have complete faith in the invincibility of our cause. 38 crores of human beings who form about one fifth of the human race, have a right to be free, and they are now prepared to pay the price of freedom. There is consequently no power on earth that can deprive us of our birthright of liberty any longer.

'Comrades, Our work has already begun. With the slogan "Onward to Delhi" on our lips let us continue to labour and to fight till our National Flag flies over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, and the Azad Hind Fauj holds its Victory Parade inside the ancient Red Fortress of India's Metropolis."

Three centres for training interpreters for the Fauj have been installed—in Syonan, Kuala Lumpur, and Saletar. Two hundred recruits will receive military and "expert work training.

September 6, 1943

A camp for training Fauj recruits was established at Seremban on the first of this month.

I joined Netaji's party visiting Kuala Lumpur. En route, at every station, Indians thronged the platforms and gave purses for the movement. At Kuala Lumpur the train had to be detained nearly quarter of an hour before the enthusiastic crowd permitted Netaji to alight. Subhas Babu told the local leaders "You must not allow this hero-worship. It will prove to be the curse of our

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movement. People must be prepared to understand and appreciate the need for immolating themselves for the cause. That is the only channel into which enthusiasm should flow. Leaders are incidental. They can come and go. It is the movement that must flow on for ever.

One of them replied, 'They come with this enthusiasm to greet you because you have brought new life into the movement, because you are the best symbol of the freedom urge in their hearts.'

In the public meeting, purses and gifts took up quite an hour. Then Netaji spoke and electrified the vast audience. Kuala Lumpur had never had such a meeting before. Its tempo was boundless.

Netaji said:

The days of minimum sacrifice are over. The time has come when each and everyone of us has to think of the maximum sacrifice, and that sacrifice has to be in human life, in money and in other resources which are necessary in order to equip a modern army.

So long as peace reigned all over the world, it was practically impossible for the Indian people to get arms and fight with arms. It was impossible for the people inside India. It was also impossible for people outside India. But thanks to this war, what was impossible four or five years ago has today become possible. If you want arms, you can get them not inside but outside India. If you want to build up a modern army and equip it with all the modern weapons, you can do so today. That is why I say this war has been a God-sent opportunity to us. It has given us a unique opportunity for achieving not Dominion Status or Colonial self-government, but full and complete independence.

"I congratulate you that you have in the heart of Kuala Lumpur one of our camps where Indian young men are trained for the coming fight for freedom. . . . Malaya is dotted with camps, and many of these camps were formerly camps of the British Army. They have been turned over to us for our use. That reminds me that when we go to India, we shall also find ready-made barracks for our national army. We won't have to build new barracks. From Calcutta to Bombay, and from Rawalpindi to Madras, there are splendid barracks, not for the Indian Army but for the British Tommy, —but these splendid barracks are going to be taken for our Indian National Army, and I promise to give the British in return all the prisons for their use."

We visited the Training Camp of the Fauj. Some 700 and odd recruits are under training. Their spirit is perfect. Netaji was very pleased with their turn-out. One could hardly imagine that Indian clerks and businessmen, whose fore-fathers never handled a gun for the last hundred years, should now prove to be so adept at learning the military art. It is the spirit that does it. All the tommy-rot that the British have talked about martial and non-martial races in India is proved to be only a cloak for not training Indian masses in military knowledge; keeping the army as a safe preserve of corrupted families in safe races. We, in East Asia, have pricked that bubble.

*September 28, 1943*

Quite a number of us—nearly fifty—travelled to Rangoon for the solemn and impressive ceremony that was held on Sunday the 26th at the Mausoleum of Bahadur Shah, the last Emperor of Free India.

Netaji paid a feeling tribute :

"It is perhaps strange, may be a lucky coincidence of history, that while the remains of India's last Emperor rest

## DAWN OF FREEDOM

on the soil of Burma, the remains of the last King of Free Burma now rest on the soil of India

'We express our unshakable determination before a sacred memorial, before the mortal remains of the last fighter for India's freedom, the man who was an Emperor among men and a man among Emperors. Now when we are engaged in the last war for India's independence, it is all the more necessary for us to renew our unshakable determination to fight this last war for independence to a finish, regardless of all sufferings and sacrifices, regardless of all difficulties in our path, regardless of the length of this war—so that at long last the enemy, the common enemy of Burma and India, will be finally overthrown and we will be free not only within our homes, but free as comrades marching shoulder to shoulder fulfilling the common destiny of mankind

"And now I shall close these few remarks by quoting the English meaning of a couplet which was composed by Bahadur Shah himself, "As long as the last particle of faith exists in the souls of India's freedom fighters, the sword of India shall continue to penetrate the heart of London".

"Ghazi yon men bu rahegi jab thulak Imanaki,

Tab tho London thak chalegi theg Hindostan Ki'.

*October 2, 1943*

Today is the 75th birthday anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, and we celebrated it by a huge meeting, flying the National Flag from the top of all Indian houses, a procession in the morning singing national songs, etc.

Netaji spoke about Gandhiji.

'I shall devote myself to an estimation of the place of Mahatmaji in the history of India's struggle for indepen-

dence The service which Mahatma Gandhi has rendered to India and to the cause of India's freedom is so unique and unparalleled that his name will be written in letters of gold in our national history for all time to come

"When the last World War was over and Indian leaders began to demand the liberty that had been promised to them, they discovered for the first time that they had been betrayed by perfidious Albion The reply to their demand came in the form of the Rowlatt Act in 1919, which deprived them of what little liberty they still possessed And when they protested against that Black Act, the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre followed For all the sacrifices made by the Indian people during the last World War, the two rewards were the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre .

"After the tragic events of 1919, Indians were stunned and paralysed for the time being All the attempts for achieving liberty had been ruthlessly crushed by the British and their armed forces Constitutional agitation, boycott of British goods, armed revolution, all had alike failed to bring freedom There was not a ray of hope left, and the Indian people were groping in the dark for a new method and a new weapon of struggle Just at this psychological moment, Gandhiji appeared on the scene with his novel method of Non Co-operation or Satyagraha or Civil disobedience It appeared as if he had been sent by Providence to show the path to liberty Immediately and spontaneously the whole nation rallied round his banner India was saved Every Indian's face was now lit up with hope and confidence Ultimate victory was once again assured

"For twenty years and more Mahatma Gandhi has worked for India's salvation, and with him the Indian people have worked



## DAWN OF FREEDOM

"It is no exaggeration to say that if in 1920 he had not come forward with his new weapon of struggle, India today, would perhaps have been still prostrate. His services to the cause of India's freedom are unique and unparalleled. No single man could have achieved more in a single lifetime under similar circumstances. The nearest historical parallel to Mahatma Gandhi is perhaps Mustapha Kemal, who saved Turkey after her defeat in the last World War, and who was then acclaimed by the Turks as the 'Gazi'.

'Since 1920 the Indian people have learnt two things from Mahatma Gandhi, which are the indispensable preconditions for the attainment of independence. They have, first of all, learnt national self respect and self-confidence as a result of which, revolutionary fervour is now blazing in their hearts. Secondly, they have now got a country wide organization which reaches the remotest village of India.

'Mahatma Gandhi has firmly planted our feet on the straight road to liberty. He and other leaders are now rotting behind prison bars. The task that Mahatma Gandhi began, has therefore to be accomplished by his countrymen at home and abroad ..

"I would like to remind you that when Mahatma Gandhi commended his Non Co-operation programme to the Indian nation at the annual session of the Congress at Nagpur in December 1920, he said 'If India had the sword today, she would have drawn the sword'. And proceeding further Mahatma said that since armed revolution was out of the question, the only other alternative before the country was that of Non Co-operation or Satyagraha. Since then times have changed and it is now possible for the Indian people to draw the sword. We are happy and proud that India's Army of Liberation has already come into existence, and is steadily increasing in numbers . "

## HUKUMUT-e-AZAD-HIND

October 21, 1943

On the 17th a new Fauj Training Camp was opened at Ipoh.

To-day has been a great day. The historic Conference called by the I. I. L. and attended by delegates from all over East Asia, assembled at the Dai Toa Gekijo at 10-30 A.M. Sri R—read the welcome address and Col. C— read the secretarial report. Then Netaji came to the rostrum and delivered a thrilling speech of an hour and a half. He held the vast audience of thousands spell-bound. He explained in Hindustani the significance of the establishment of Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Sri C— translated into Tamil.

Loud and prolonged cheers echoed and re-echoed in the vast hall as Netaji took the Oath of Allegiance to India. He was so moved that at one stage minutes passed but his voice could not triumph over the emotion which struggled in his throat. The emotion that suddenly welled up showed how deeply each word of the Oath and the sanctity of the occasion had affected him. In a now loud, now soft, but always firm voice, he read out: "In the name of God, I take this sacred oath that to liberate India and the thirty-eight crores of my countrymen, I, Subhas Chandra Bose, will continue this sacred war of freedom till the last breath of my life." And here he paused. It seemed that he would break down. Each one of us had been mentally repeating each word of the oath. We were all leaning forward, physically trying to reach the granite figure of Netaji. The whole audience was merged in him. Pin-drop silence. With lips tightly closed and eyes glued, body tense, we waited for him to overcome the struggle over emotion. Presently he began in a solemn voice, like an organ in a church :

"I shall always remain a servant of India and look after the welfare of thirty-eight crores of Indian brothers and sisters. This shall be for me my highest duty.

## HUKUMUT-e-AZAD-HIND

"Even after winning freedom, I will always be prepared to shed the last drop of my blood for the preservation of India's freedom."

The tension was relieved. We could breathe again freely.

Then each member of the Provisional Government came up in front of the vast Conference and individually took the Oath : "In the name of God, I take this holy oath that to liberate India and thirty-eight crores of my countrymen I will be absolutely faithful to our leader Subhas Chandra Bose and shall be always prepared to sacrifice my life and all I have for the cause."

Then the Proclamation was read out to us.

Let me record this document which shall be written with drops of Indian patriotic blood in the coming months in Indian history .

"After their first defeat at the hands of the British in 1757 in Bengal, the Indian people fought an un-interrupted series of hard and bitter battles over a stretch of one hundred years. The history of this period teems with examples of unparalleled heroism and self sacrifice. And in the pages of that history, the names of Siraj ud-doula and Mohanlal of Bengal, Haidar Ali, Tippu Sultan and Velu Thampi of South India, Appa Sahib Bhonsle and Peshwa Bajji Rao of Mahrastra, the Begums of Oudh, Sardar Shyam Singh Atariwala of Punjab, and last but not least, Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Maharaj Kunwar Singh of Dumraon and Nana Sahib are for ever engraved in letters of gold. Unfortunately for us, our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat to the whole of India, and they did not therefore put up a united front against the enemy. Ultimately, when the Indian people were roused to the reality of the situation,

they made a concerted move and under the flag of Bahadur Shah in 1857 they fought their last war as freemen. . . .

"Forcibly disarmed by the British after 1857 and subjected to terror and brutality, the Indian people lay prostrate for a while, but with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885, there came a new awakening. From 1885 till the end of the last World War, the Indian people, in their endeavour to recover their lost liberty, tried all possible methods—namely, agitation and propaganda, boycott of British goods, terrorism and sabotage, and finally, armed revolution. But all these efforts failed for a time. Ultimately in 1920, when the Indian people, haunted by a sense of failure, were groping for a new method, Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the new weapon of non-co-operation and civil disobedience.

"Thus, the Indian people not only recovered their political consciousness, but became a political entity once again. They could now speak with one voice and strive with one will for one common goal. From 1937 to 1939, through the work of the Congress Ministries in eight provinces, they gave proof of their capacity to administer their own affairs. Thus, on the eve of the present World War, the stage is set for the final struggle for India's liberation.

"Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy, and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot, British rule in India has forfeited the good will of the Indian people altogether and is now living a precarious existence. It needs but a flame to destroy the last vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame is the task of India's Army of Liberation.

"Now that the dawn of freedom is at hand, it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own, and launch the last struggle under the banner

## HUKUMAT-e-AZAD-HIND

of that Government. But with all the Indian leaders in prison and the people at home totally disarmed, it is not possible to set up a Provisional Government within India or to launch an armed struggle under the aegis of that Government. It is therefore the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad, to undertake this task—the task of setting up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India), and of conducting the last fight for Freedom, with the help of the Azad Hind Fauj organised by the League.

“The Provisional Government is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien Government in the past.

“In the name of God, in the name of bygone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation, and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self sacrifice—we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and to strike for India's freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and their allies in India and to prosecute that struggle with valour and perseverance and with full faith in final Victory—until the enemy is expelled from Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a Free Nation.”

This is signed on behalf of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by Subhas Chandra Bose—Head of the State, Prime Minister and Minister for War and Foreign Affairs, Capt. Mrs. Lakshmi Women's Organisation; S. A.

Ayer Publicity and Propaganda, Lt. Col A C Chatterji—Finance, Lt Col Aziz Ahmed, Lt. Col N S Bhagat, Lt. Col J K Bhonsle, Lt Col Gulzara Singh, Lt. Col M Z Kayani, Lt Col A D Loganadan Lt Col Ehsan Qadir, Lt Col Shah Nawaz—representatives of the Armed Forces, A M Sahay—Secretary with ministerial rank, Rash Behari Bose - Supreme Adviser, Karim Gani, Debnath Das D M Khan, A Yellappa J Thivy, Sardar Ishar Singh—Advisers, A N Sarkar—Legal Adviser

I must also record some of the passages from Netaji's speech

' During the last few months, the situation inside India has been developing in a manner favourable to our cause, though it has meant more and more suffering for the people.

"The political unrest in India has been greatly accentuated by the famine conditions prevailing in several parts of India—and particularly in Bengal. There can be no doubt that these famine conditions have been largely due to the policy of ruthless exploitation of India's food and other resources for Britain's war purposes over a period of nearly four years. You are aware that on behalf of our League, I made a free and unconditional offer of one hundred thousand tons of rice for our starving countrymen at home as a first instalment. Not only was this offer not accepted by the British authorities in India—but we were given only abuse in return.

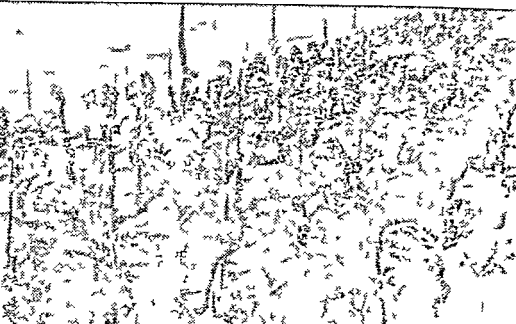
"You are probably aware that since July last, I have toured more than once in the mainland of Malaya, in Thailand, in Burma and in Indo-China. The enthusiasm among our countrymen that I have met with everywhere has not only been encouraging, but has added greatly to my feelings of confidence and optimism.

"I would like to inform you also that we have been planning and preparing, not only for the coming struggle,



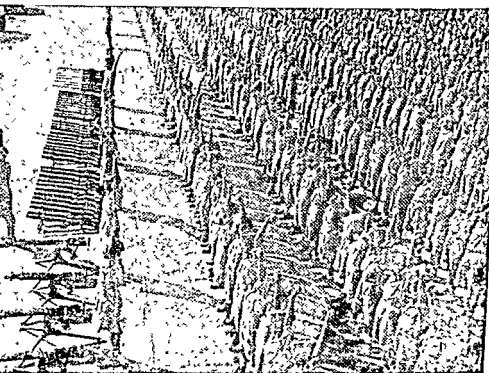
and Mass Rally at  
Padang Syonan

Soldiers of the A  
Fauj on rout





Bose at the Azad Hind Fauj  
own Hall Maidan, Syonan.



"In the name of God, I take  
this holy oath to liberate India."



but also for post war reconstruction. We can visualise the conditions that we shall find at home when the Anglo-Americans and their allies are expelled from our Country. We have therefore set up a Reconstruction Department in our headquarters, where the problems of post war reconstruction are being studied. People are now being trained for work of rapid reconstruction within India, simultaneously with the progress of military operations. In short, we are not leaving anything undone in our preparation for the coming fight for freedom and for the task that we shall have to undertake thereafter.

"It would naturally have been the best thing if a Government had been constituted inside India, and if that Government had launched the last struggle for liberty. But things being what they are in India, and all the known and recognised leaders being in prison, it is hopeless to expect the formation of a Provisional Government within the frontiers of India. It is equally hopeless to expect the last fight for freedom to be organised or initiated within the Country. It is consequently for the Indians in East Asia to undertake this solemn task.

"There is not the slightest doubt in our minds that when we cross the Indian frontier with our Army and hoist our National Flag on Indian soil, the real revolution will break out within the country—the revolution that will ultimately bring about the end of British rule in India.

"The creation of a National Army has lent reality and seriousness to the whole Independence Movement in East Asia. If this Army had not been organised, the Independence League in East Asia would have been a mere propaganda organ. With the creation of the National Army, it became possible as well as necessary, to set up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India). The

Government is born out of the Independence League for the purpose of hunching and directing the final struggle for India's freedom

' In setting up this Provisional Government we are on the one hand meeting the exigencies of the Indian situation, and are on the other following in the footsteps of history. In recent times the Irish people set up their Provisional Government in 1916. The Czechs did the same during the last World War. The Turks under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal set up their Provisional Government in Anatolia "

And then the National Anthem burst forth from a myriad throats in a grand symphony.

Subh sukh chain ki barkha barse Bharat bhag hai jaga,  
Punjab Sindh Gujrat Maratha Dravid Utkal Banga  
Chanchal Sagar Bindh Humala neela Jamna Ganga,

Tere nit gun gae,  
Tujhse jeewan pae,  
Sab tan pae asha,

Suraj ban kar jag par chamke Bharat nam Subhaga,  
Jai ya ho Jai ya ho, Jai ya ho,  
Jai ya Jai ya Jai ya Jai ya ho !

Sab ke dil men prit basae teri mithi bani,  
Har sube ke rahne wale har mazhab ke prani,

Sab bhed-o-farak mita ke,  
Sab god me teri ake,  
Goondhen prem ki mala :

Suraj ban kar jag par chamke Bharat nam Subhaga,  
Jai ya ho, Jai ya ho Jai ya ho,  
Jai ya Jai ya Jai ya Jai ya ho !

## HUKUMUT-e-AZAD-HIND

Subah savere pankh pakheru tere hi gun gaen,  
Bas bhari bharpoor hawaen jeewan men rut laen,

Sab mil kar Hind Pukare,  
Jai Azad Hind ke nare,  
Piara desh hamara,

Suraj ban kar jag par chamke Bharat nam Subhaga,  
Jai-ya ho, Jai-ya ho, Jai-ya ho,  
Jai-ya Jai-ya Jai-ya Jai-ya ho !  
Bharat nam subhaga !

*October 22, 1943*

Today was our day. Netaji unfurled the flag and declared open the Rani of Jhansi Regiment Training Camp. The day was well chosen. The Rani of Jhansi was born on this day. On this day Netaji functioned as nurse at the re-birth of modern Rani of Jhansi in East Asia.

At 5 P. M. punctually Netaji arrived. Mrs. C—, the President of our Syonan Women's Section welcomed him. Capt. Mrs. L— accompanied Netaji when he inspected our Guard of Honour. He unfurled the National Flag. With rifles in our hands, we listened to his speech, standing like statues, not daring to breathe lest we create an unfavourable impression on him about our capacity to become active soldiers in the field of battle. I tremble at the new life that is opening out before me. I pray that I should never be found wanting—never—never for an instant let weakness make me bend. God! I prefer death to dishonour.

Netaji spoke :

“Sisters,

“The opening of the Rani Jhansi Regiment Training Camp is an important landmark in the progress of our Movement in East Asia.

"We are engaged in the great task of regenerating our Nation. And it is only in the fitness of things that there should be a stir of New Life among our womenfolk."

"Our past has been a great and glorious one. India could not have produced a heroine like the Rani of Jhansi if she did not have a glorious tradition. In the same way as we have figures like Maitreyi in India's ancient days, we have the inspiring examples of Ahalyabai of Maharashtra, Rani Bhawani of Bengal, Razia Begum and Noor Jehan, who were shining administrators in recent historic times prior to British rule in India. I have every confidence in the fertility of the Indian soil. I am confident that India, as in the past, will surely produce the best flowers of Indian womanhood."

"I may at this juncture say a few words about the Rani of Jhansi. When the Rani of Jhansi started her fight, her age was only twenty. You can easily imagine what it meant for a girl of twenty to ride a horse, and wield her sword in open battle. You can easily realize what courage and spirit she must have had. The English Commander who fought against her said that 'She was the best and bravest of the rebels'. First she fought from the Jhansi Fort, and when the fort was besieged, she escaped with a party to Kalpi, from where she put up a fight. When she had to retreat from this battlefield, she made an alliance with Tantia Topi, attacked and captured Gwalior Fort, and using that Fort as the base, she continued the battle, and in this last and great battle she died fighting."

"Unfortunately, Jhansi Rani was defeated. It was not her defeat, it was the defeat of India. She died, but her spirit can never die. India can once again produce Jhansi Rani and march on to victory."

"We are a hundred and fifty six in the camp today. This is the central camp. There are other camps for women in Thailand."

## HUKUMUT-e-AZAD-HIND

and in Burma. The quota we have undertaken is one thousand women soldiers from Malaya alone.

I must have been strutting about like a peacock, with head held high, when I walked home to-night. P—made fun of me. But I do not care. It is the snobbishness of the orthodox male that makes him take this supercilious attitude to us, women soldiers, P—, just give us a little time, and we shall prove to you that we can make really tough soldiers. You shall know that the timid wife who shrieked at the presence of a tiny cockroach or a rat, has changed into a Rani of Jhansi, who will not shrink from killing because her country, her patriotism, demands it.

*October 23 1943*

The Nippon Government has granted recognition to our Provisional Government and has promised "every possible co-operation and support in the Provisional Government's efforts to attain its object: Complete Independence of India."

I am now living in the Camp. Our daily routine of drill, lectures, musketry training, has begun. I have been told that I must put in extra hours and qualify as an officer, and I am going to do it.

A school for training "administrators" for the liberated zones as our Army marches ahead into India, has come into existence. Only highly qualified persons are admitted. There are technicians and administrative experts among them.

*October 25, 1943*

"The second meeting of the Council of Ministers has unanimously passed the following resolution at five minutes past midnight last night: The Provisional Government of Azad Hind declares war on Britain and the U.S.A."

When Netaji declared this at the Padang mass rally, opposite the stately municipal buildings in the evening yesterday, shouts and slogans rent the skies and volley after volley of frenzied cheering greeted the news. For a full quarter of an hour the vast audience of over fifty thousand was uncontrollable. It broke the cordon in several places, trying to reach the platform. When Netaji asked them to stand where they were and raise their hands to express their approval, a forest of hands went up. Then the Fauj soldiers lifted their rifles and placed them on their shoulders, giving their consent by a forest of bayonets. It was a scene which I shall never forget. I too unsheathed my bayonet and held it aloft. We were madly shouting our battle-cry: "On to Delhi."

Yesterday a military parade of the Fauj was also held in the morning at the Padang before the Takubetusi. At exactly half past ten, Netaji arrived. He is very punctual. Accompanied by his Cabinet, Netaji inspected the Fauj and took the salute. With a soul-stirring speech he raised the morale of the soldiers sky-high. Our Regiment was also there. If Netaji had asked me to cut my throat for my country, I could have done it on the spot.

Netaji pointed out that the Fauj has only one single aim: the liberation of Mother India, that the Fauj has only one destination—the ancient Red Delhi Fort. He asked if there was anybody who wanted to leave the Army, who had got into it in the first flush of enthusiasm, but had changed his mind on second thoughts. Such a person must openly approach him,—he can fall out. There should be no doubt about the fact that the Fauj is and always will be a volunteer army. No compulsion of any sort can be enforced. He asked the World to witness that not one was willing to fall out. He added:

"When the Azad Hind Fauj launches its fight, it will do so under the leadership of its own Government. And when it marches into India, the administration of the liberated tracts will automatically come into the hands of our Pro-

## HUKUMUT-e-AZAD-HIND

visional Government..... India's liberation shall be achieved by Indian effort and sacrifice, through our own Fauj."

*October 26, 1943*

I must record the stirring event that took place at the Jalan & Besar Stadium, where Netaji scored success on a new front yesterday.

Money and gifts have been pouring in ever since Netaji has arrived in Syonan. But he was not satisfied with the collections. So, Netaji issued a special appeal and spoke to the wealthy Indian businessmen at the Stadium.

Netaji thundered :

"Look at those who have volunteered to join the Indian National Army and who are now getting the necessary training. They do not know how many of them would live to see India free. They are getting ready with the one thought of shedding their last drop of blood. They are getting ready to go to a free India or to die on the way. There is no programme of retreat for them .....

"When the I. N. A. is getting trained either to march to victory or to spill its last drop of blood on the way the rich people are asking me whether total mobilisation means 10 per cent or 5 per cent of their riches. I would ask these people who are speaking of percentages whether we can tell our soldiers to fight and spill only 10 per cent of their blood and save the rest .....

"The poor classes have been coming forward voluntarily and with enthusiastic spirit to offer everything that they have. Poorer class Indians like watchmen, washermen, barbers, petty shopkeepers and gowalas have come forward with all that they have. And in addition to that some of them have also offered to become volunteers.....

'Some of these poor people came to me and not only did they give all the cash they had in their pockets but went further and gave me their Savings Bank books which represent their lives' savings. Are there not rich men among the Indians in Malaya who can come forward and say in the same spirit. Here is my bank book for the cause of Indian Independence ?

Indians as a nation believe in the ideal of self sacrifice. Among the Hindus we have the ideal of the Sanyasins and the Muslims have the way of the Faquirs. Can there be a greater cause a nobler cause and a holier cause than that of liberating 38 crores of human souls ?

My first request to Malaya is for 10 crores of rupees, which would be approximately 10 per cent of the value of Indian possessions in Malaya.

When the collections began nearly seven million dollars were received on the spot. Within the next 24 hours the total collections have reached the figure of 1 crore and 30 lakh dollars.

The Reich Foreign Minister Herr Von Ribbentrop has sent an official telegram to Netaji that the Reich Government recognises the newly formed Provisional Government of Azad Hind. So also have Free Burma and Free Philippine Government.

*October 28 1943*

Netaji issued a statement when he met world pressmen at the Konan Club to-day.

He says

With the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind the second dream of my political life has been fulfilled—the first being the organisation of a national revolutionary army. Only one more dream now remains to be fulfilled namely to fight and win our freedom.



## HUKUMUT-e-AZAD-HIND

"The world knows of course that Nationalist India has been at war with Britain for a long time. Nevertheless, since the Provisional Government of Free India has been formed for the first time, such a declaration has been necessary, in order to clarify our attitude towards Britain and America .

"This declaration of war is not a propaganda stunt. We shall prove by our actions that we mean what we say. I, for one, would never have been a party to such a decision, if I had not been confident of putting that decision into practice."

*November 8, 1943*

Netaji has received a message of felicitations from Irish Republicans. He was thrilled by it. I was in office when it arrived. He read it out to us and then told us how the telegram brought back to his mind vividly the many friends that he had made in the 'Emerald Isle of Eire', and the sacred places, hallowed by deeds of martyrdom, that he had visited. He finally said, "Our cause also is just. Our demand also is for our birth-right. We too are prepared to pay the price. We too must therefore triumph. Freedom for India must come, as it came for Eire."

Croatia, China and Manchukuo have recognised our Provisional Government.

*November 8, 1943*

Netaji, accompanied by his Staff,—P—is included—has gone to Tokyo. The Greater East Asia Nations Conference is meeting. Netaji has refused to attend it as a delegate. He goes as an 'Observer', a position consistent with our stand that we are only a Provisional Government and therefore cannot commit the future Free Government of India.

"Some of these poor people came to me, and not only did they give all the cash they had in their pockets, but went further and gave me their Savings Bank books, which represent their lives' savings. Are there not rich men among the Indians in Malaya who can come forward and say in the same spirit: 'Here is my bank book for the cause of Indian Independence'? .. ..

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The Conference has adopted a resolution sponsored by Adipada Dr. Ba Maw giving full support to India's struggle for independence. Dr. Chumeri Okawa, a noted Jap authority on Indian problems, declared that India's independence is indispensable to the peace of East Asia.

The Nippon Government has transferred the Andamans and Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Gen. Tojo officially made the declaration in the Conference. Netaji has given a press interview. He says

'For Indians the return of the Andamans represents the first territory to be liberated from British yoke. By the acquisition of this territory, the Provisional Government has now become a national entity in fact as well as in name. The liberation of the Andamans has a symbolic significance because the Andaman was always used by the British as a prison for political prisoners. Most of the political prisoners sentenced to penal servitude for conspiracies to overthrow the British Government—and there have been hundreds of them,—were locked up in this Island. Like the Bastille in Paris, which was liberated first in the French Revolution, setting free political prisoners, the Andamans where our patriots suffered much, is the first to be liberated in India's fight for independence. Part by part, Indian territory will be liberated but it is always the first plot of land that holds the most significance. We have renamed Andamans as 'Shahid', in memory of the martyrs, the Nicobar—Swaraj.'

We stand with heads erect. We take no subsidiary position to anybody in the East or the West.

The Government of Italy has recognised our Provisional Government.

*December 2, 1943*

I accompanied Sri T—, Chaitman of Malaya Branch, on a tour of fifteen days.

## HUKUMUT-e-AZAD HIND

The League in Malaya has a very vital part to play in this last stage of our struggle. Part of our Army has already marched north and has been posted in Burma. Our Government has declared war on Britain and America—and the word compromise has been struck off from our dictionary. Malaya is to be the rear headquarters. From here must flow the unbroken stream of volunteers for the Fauj and money to keep our Government and our Army going. Since the arrival of Netaji the work of the I I L has been placed on a thorough footing. Reorganisation has been carried into each branch and sub-branch of the I I L. Netaji has fixed the quota of 20 000 volunteers for the Fauj from Malaya for the coming year. We have begun giving military training to every Indian whether he volunteers for the Fauj or not. What the Britisher has denied to Indians for a century, our popular Government has provided free of obligations to everybody. We must make Indians a martial race and remove the stigma which the British have brought upon us. Also, I suspect, we are getting ready for all eventualities.

Our I I L membership position has improved. Netaji wants every Indian to be a member. At present the position in Syonan, Johore and Malacca shows membership to be 54, 66 & 60 per cent of the Indian population.

The work of the I I L branches consists of social welfare, political propaganda, recruitment, collection of funds, cultural work and so on. Hindustani classes have grown in number since my last visit. There are classes in each settlement of Indians. There was not one place where I did not find men and women struggling to learn the language. As the population in the interior is mostly Tamil, this really represents the nationalist upsurge among them. In Kuala Lumpur, Hindustani lessons are broadcast.

This does not mean that we have no schools for the children in Tamil. The Ramakrishna Mission does Hindustani Prachar work and helps the I I L in many ways. These missionaries of

India are really patriotic, and their devotion to suffering humanity easily vies with the best European mission work

Sri K—joined us in Johore and Malacca tours. He is a powerful speaker. He told me that the demand for membership badges has become very great. The membership is now in the neighbourhood of two lakhs and twenty five thousand. A new "Workers' Badge", with light blue border, has been introduced for I. I. L. active workers. He told me that some fifteen thousand have been already distributed in Malaya alone. They are only meant for full time, twenty four hour workers of the League. Every one who wears it is equal and a brother to every other, irrespective of the difference in importance so far as jobs are concerned.

A Ceylon Department of the I. I. L. has also begun work.

Our daily paper—"Poorna Swaraj"—is very popular. It reaches every corner where Indians can read. The Weekly—"Jai Hind"—is also popular. I remember the meeting in Penang, —in ten minutes I sold a hundred copies. And I was only one of a big batch selling the paper.

*December 10, 1943*

Is it not surprising, when one sits back to think of it, the harmonious mixture we have of all communities and races in our I. I. L. work? There is no communalism at all. Muslims, Hindus, Christians, Jews, Dogras,—all are working together.

There is also the wonderful solution of the communal problem we have brought about in all our camps. In our Jhansi Training Camp, all sit together in one row to eat, the vegetarians as well as non vegetarians. Vegetarian food is first served to everybody. Then the meat or fish dishes are given to those who seek them. We all sit mixed up. Food snobbery has been killed with a heavy hand. This was a big problem in the begin-

## HUKUMUT e AZAD HIND

ning But the I I L educated our masses with repeated meetings and emphasis on patriotism Our success in this regard is an eye opener to people in India, who are victims of the British divide and rule policy Face to face with the freedom objective, communalism will find its death Did not Hindus get invited to Muslim mosques and Muslims to Hindu ceremonies in the 1921 Non Co-operation and Khilafat days? Communalism can only breed among slaves who have no political objective who have not the freedom urge Communalism is the luxury of the idle rich who are enemies of their country

I have heard ominous rumours Sri K—told me so I have no reason to disbelieve them The Japs are scared of the great strength that the I I L has secured under the leadership of Subhas Babu They did not count on Netaji taking up such a pure nationalist attitude regarding Indian Independence They are thwarted at each turn by Netaji as soon as he suspects the least move to turn us into puppets And that has its own consequences The reason why we cannot have a bigger number than 40 000 in the Fauj is now explained The Japs refuse to allow a bigger number Also the difficulties about procuring manufactured material for the day to day necessities of the Fauj Soldiers —the Japs excusing themselves by saying that their own soldiers have to suffer shortages! But Netaji pointed to the market stocks They fell back on the excuse of civilian needs and the necessity of rationing and control for the markets Sri K—told me that Netaji is very vexed over the problem The last consignment of blankets we received for the Rani Jhansi Regiment was bought in the black market!

*December 27, 1943*

Netaji attended the prize-distribution ceremony of the Syonan National School at 9 Norris Road A small pamphlet described the national bias of the school and listed the following as the subjects taught

Hindustani, Indian National History, Lives of national leaders like Gandhiji, Tilak, Nehrus, C R Das, Indian Geography, Music and National Songs, Nature study, Handwork & Drawing, Arithmetic, Hygiene Gardening, Moral training, Physical training & games, Soap making Ink making, Electroplating, Water purifying, Repairing a bicycle, gramophone and watch Elementary infantry training is included in drill.

The School is co educational, and boys and girls of twelve years and above are taken Evening two hour classes cover adults for literacy.

There used to be a small one dollar fee, but now the fee has been abolished . . .

As a revolutionary army, our Fauj lives most frugally. A Colonel's pay is Rs 250| per month a Major gets Rs 185| The Fauj supplies food and clothes But we live like revolutionaries, and contribute every pie we can save to the I I L Funds

Our collections up till the end of this year have reached a total of 77 27 947 dollars Syonan tops the list in Malaya with 29 lakhs, 94 thousand

. And this does not include jewellery and silver ware which was given as gift That adds another 86 thousand dollars I have gathered the figures from Sri M—, our Chief Accounts Officer . . .

When Netaji visited Penang recently, in the public meeting, he appealed for funds for the Provisional Government A young domestic servant in the audience brought out a silver flower vase and gave it as gift to Netaji He said this was the only jewel he possessed and it was hallowed by the memory of his dear departed mother Netaji related the facts about the flower vase to the vast audience and auctioned it. He said he would accept no bid less



## HUKUMUT-e-AZAD-HIND

than twenty-five thousand dollars. The bids climbed on and on. The vase ultimately fetched a lakh and five thousand dollars !

*December 30, 1943*

Netaji set foot on free Indian soil for the first time at the Shaheed Islands and hoisted the Tricolour over Port Blair, the scene of so much suffering and torture for Indian revolutionaries. Jai-Hind !

*January 4, 1944*

Col. B—visited our Rani Jhansi Regiment Camp and lectured to us on military discipline.

Capt. L—appealed to the visiting delegates of the League to recruit as many educated girls for the Regiment as possible.

Six fresh recruits have joined our Rani Jhansi Camp today from Selangor State ; two from Kuala Lumpur. In Kuala Lumpur a District Relief Camp has been opened and has got more than a thousand inmates. In the Welfare Centre Hospital last month 441 were admitted. The medical relief problem is taxing our resources considerably.....Quinine stocks are getting exhausted as fast as we get them.

I was reprimanded by Capt. L— for being chaotic in my work. She is right. But I have never worked like this before. And when I look back—the high-strung convent girl I used to be, with the “darling” Prince-of-Wales’ picture on my dressing-table, with my hysteric intonations and sentimental hurts,—I do find I have changed out of recognition.

Yesterday we witnessed a small playlet called “Chalo Dilli.” It was staged by the recruits at Labis. “Bharata Putran” and “Jallianwalla Bagh” were also put up. They are fine educative, propaganda playlets. I was quite excited when I heard Gen. Dyer ,

give the order to shoot. The acting was superb. I believe a literary revival has occurred among our younger writers. Those who never thought they could write, have written inspiring poems and dramas. The circumstances produce the writers, I dare say that is the explanation for it.

The I I L has circumvented the ban on increasing the size of the Fauj beyond 40,000 by appealing to all Indians, including women, to go through a short course of military training at the camps. We have quite a number of them dotting the territories of Malaya and Burma, and also Thailand. The slogan is Every Indian must know how to handle modern arms. We must regain our militancy, every one of us—even the children, so that nobody—neither the British nor the Jap imperialists—can hope to keep us slaves.

## "CHALO DILLI"

*January 8, 1944*

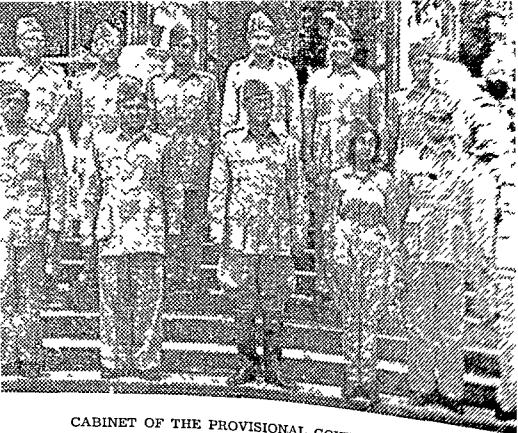
So here we are in Rangoon. Our Advance Headquarters has been shifted to Burma in order to be nearer the fighting line.

There is another reason too. Netaji and his Staff Officers have been suspecting that the Japanese Army authorities are not very anxious to see the Fauj taking immediate offensive from Burma. But Netaji has been firm, and hence the move to Rangoon. The Japanese idea that their Army shall take Imphal, and the Fauj can come and help later, is monstrous. The Fauj must lead in the battles for entry into India. It is *our* battle.

General Loganadan has been appointed Chief Commissioner of Shaheed Islands by our Provisional Government.

*January 26, 1944*

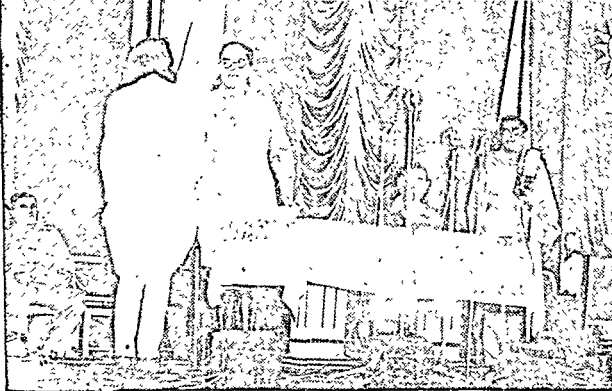
To day we celebrated Independence Day. Netaji made an inspiring speech before an audience which could not be less than



# CABINET OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVT. OF AZAD HIND

standing in front row (from left) 1 Major-General Chatterjee, 2 Major-General Subhas Bose, Sepah Salar, 4. Major Dr Laxmi Swaminathan, 5. Sri Shahay, 6. Sri agatsingh 4 Lt-Col Kiant, 5 Lt-Col Aziz Ahmad 2. Lt-Col. Kad 3. Lt. Col. Izara Singh 6 Lt-Col. Shah Nawaz, 7. Lt.

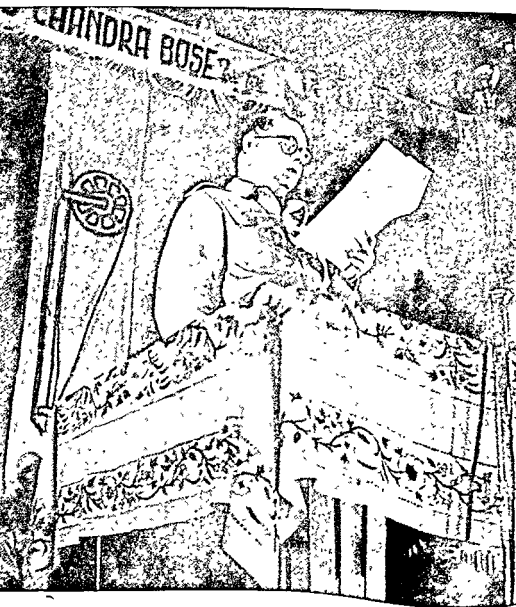




Capt. Laxmi being sworn in as Minister in charge of Women's Department.

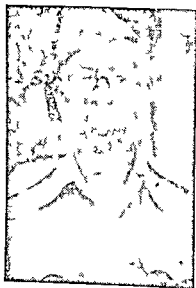
Military Inspection of the Gandhi Brigade, Azad Hind Fauj.



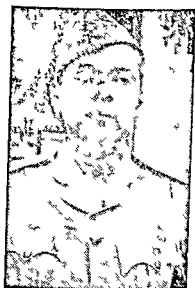


"I, Subhas Chandra Bose, will continue this sacred  
war of freedom till the last breath of my life....."  
—Oath of Allegiance to the Arzi Hukumat-e-Azad Hind.  
(October 21, 1943)

Maj Gen A D Loganadan  
Chief Commissioner  
Shaheed Isles



Maj Gen A C Chatterji  
Governor of Liberated  
Areas in India



FOUR PILLARS  
OF THE  
ARZI HUKUMAT-e-AZAD-HIND



Maj Gen J K Bhonsle  
Chief of Staff



Maj Gen M Z Kyani  
Commander  
Gandhi Brigade

## CHALO DILLI

sixty thousand. People had walked seven to ten miles to reach the meeting place.

There was an incident which I must record.

At the beginning of the meeting Netaji was garlanded. He had wound the garland of flowers round his hand as he spoke. When he finished his stirring speech enthusiasm was fever-heat. Then an idea struck him. He asked if anybody was ready to buy the garland; the money he would receive would go to the Fauj funds.

The first bid was one lakh of rupees. In a few minutes, the figure swelled. One lakh—one lakh and a half—three lakhs—four—four and a quarter—five—six—seven lakhs!

the fate of the flowers will be the fate of this youth tomorrow. But he was happy and radiant, a glow lighted his eyes as he walked away with it.

I have been posted at the Maymyo Military Hospital. Our Rani Jhansi Regiment has been entrusted with Nursing and Red Cross work. We held a meeting today evening about it. Capt. L—presided. We have volunteered for active service, not for safe nursing behind the front. But ultimately we decided to proceed to Maymyo and work there for the time being. We shall first obey and then submit our protests.

I very nearly quarrelled with P—when he nagged me about my “long face”. I am very upset. But I must control myself.

*February 15, 1944*

We are settled in the Maymyo Hospital. Our Fauj has gone into action, and we have received the first contingents of the wounded. The Fauj has been successful in its onward march. On 4th February the first action began. By today the Fauj has made considerable progress.....

We have submitted a petition to Netaji :

“Our training has been satisfactory and complete. But we are now denied access to the front-line. We are reduced to a corps of nurses. This is un-understandable. Why are we being treated thus? You gave us the name of the valiant Rani of Jhansi. When you opened our first training camp in Syonan you assured us that we could go and fight in the thick of the battle like the Rani, that our presence in the armed forces would demoralise our enemies and retrieve the Indian soldiers from the British Army. We beg of you to give immediate orders to send us to the battle-front..

“We have signed this petition with our blood, in order to prove to you our determination to give our lives in the cause of



freedom of our Motherland. Test us, Netaji. You will never find us wanting."

The petition was signed by two Maharashtrian Brahmin, two Bengalee Brahmin, and two Gujarati Bania girls, all from "non-martial" races, with blood which we all supplied by cutting our fingers.

We expect an early reply. We have faith in our Netaji. He will not let us down.

*March 2, 1944*

Hurrah! We are off. Orders have been received and two companies have been allowed from the Rani Jhansi Regiment to proceed to the front. We have been warned that the front line conditions are very rough.

I am going, P—. If I do not come back, do not grieve for me. I would like you to remarry—with one suggestion: You can choose from the active workers of the Rani Jhansi Regiment. A painted, lip-sticked doll will never suit you after your present life.

Good-bye—good-bye—goodbye to you also, my son in far away Punjab!.....

*March 22, 1944*

Col. Chatterji has been appointed Governor of the first liberated zones by our Provisional Government.

Ugly whispers have come to my ears again. The Japs are behaving scandalously. We have 20,000 of our Fauj in Burma. Only 10,000 are at the front today. But into the battle line only 5,000 are actually fighting. And even these have been broken up into small lots on a dozen sectors like Tamu, Kohima, Palal

and Tiddim. Why is the Fauj not concentrating all its strength in one sector, so that we can break through into Assam or Bengal? And why should we be stamping our feet idly like this, when our men are so keen on getting into the battle?

*May 21, 1944.*

I have not written anything about my life at the front. The wound in my hand and head prevented it so far. -Those were hectic days. Let me recapitulate.

When we reached the front, the conditions of living were very hard indeed. We were short of food, short of clothing, short of ammunition. But we did not care.

The front was a huge jungle full of small hills and thin valleys. The village in which we had our headquarters had never seen women warriors, and we became exhibition pieces. As the news spread, men and women travelled long distances to see us. News spread to the army opposite also, as we learnt from prisoners taken from the patrols of the enemy.

After days of dull stamping of feet at the village, we at last got orders to prepare to go into action. We had a long march to do and we started at three in the morning. No lights—it was a dark morning—we were told not to make unnecessary noise—not to shout slogans—just quickly march on.

After what seemed like endless miles, we at last reached a hill where we were made to take up positions. The British Army was beyond the no-man's land, a distance of a mile or so. They were not expecting us here. They marched right into our valley. We wondered when the signal to fire would be given. The opportunity seemed to pass. At last the order was given.....

I suppose we all forgot our sex. We were just automatons. We fired, refilled and fired again, and yet again, endlessly. And then the order—"Fix Bayonets"—then, "Charge",.....

## CHALO DILLI

I leapt forward and began running precipitately down the hill. Somebody who was running ahead of me fell down. I could not stop myself. My foot crushed her outstretched hand. With the mad shout of *Jai-Hind* on my lips I continued running down hill. It seems our soldiers were on other hillocks all around, hiding in the dense jungle. Loud and long shouts of "*Inquilab Zindabad*" and "*Azad Hind Zindabad*" resounded as we ran ahead. Then I suddenly felt a blow, I stumbled,—and fell. I must have become unconscious. When I regained consciousness I was being taken to the rear on a stretcher. I grit my teeth not to let out a moan. My poor head was reeling with pain. But my pride was greater than the pain.

I shut my eyes. I thought the stretcher-bearers were rough men. They tossed me so violently! After what seemed an age, I was placed on the ground. We had reached the field hospital. My wounds have now healed. I can walk about. Later I learnt that the bayonet charge was not necessary. The enemy had surrendered. We had many casualties, but we had won an important victory. We had been actually on the Indo-Burma border, and the success of the day's fighting had taken us over into India.....

I am being sent back to Rangoon from this Maymyo Hospital. I have orders to join Rangoon Headquarters.

In the days that have gone by since I last wrote my diary, many things have happened.

On 18th March the Fauj successfully crossed the border and entered India. I am told our soldiers did '*Sashtang Namascar*' to Mother India and kissed the soil that day. It was a touching scene. They vowed with the soil of Mother India in their hands that they will not falter in the fight, that they will not rest till India is free.

Other engagements were also fought. Imphal was surrounded. Morai, Kohima and several villages were taken by the Fauj and Jap detachments. Monsoon and the lack of air support were the main handicaps. Where has the Jap Air Force disappeared? The Fauj does not have a single air-plane! We have had to withdraw from Manipur. Why? Who was responsible for the lack of air support, equipment, food, transport? I hear the Japs are letting us down at the critical moment. But in the first battles of the Fauj with British troops, our patriots have proved beyond doubt that given a reasonable chance, we can defeat and drive out the Britishers. The courage, the tenacity and the fighting spirit exhibited by the civil recruits—mostly clerks and businessmen and labourers—once for all explodes sky-high the British military theory of martial and non-martial races. Instance after instance can be recorded of sublime devotion to duty and heroism. Badly clothed, badly fed and short of ammunition,—with hardly any air-protection, our Azad Hind soldiers drove back a well-equipped army of the British. I am told our soldiers were irresistible in hand-to-hand fighting. They fought with the tenacity of wild tigers. After all, our emblem of the 'Tiger' was not selected for nothing. The hills of Arakan, Imphal and Palel shall ever ring with our slogans. The soil has been sprinkled with our blood. The very air is sanctified by the breath of our dying heroes.

*May 26, 1944*

I have heard about an interesting episode in the Imphal front battles.

Indians in the British Army were facing our Fauj soldiers in one sector.

Our Fauj soldiers raised a placard so that the Indian soldiers opposite could read on it; "Come over to us and fight for the freedom of our country."

## CHALO DILLI

The Indian soldiers replied by a return placard "You are slaves of Japan , you have shortage of food, come over to us, and you can eat belly-fulls."

Promptly came the reply from our Fauj "We are no slaves of Japan We fight under orders of Subhas Babu As regards food, it is better to eat grass of freedom than to eat ghee and atta of slavery."

And our men burst forth into the Zanda song  
Sar par Tiranga Zanda, jalawa dikha raha hai,  
Kaumi Tiranga Zanda, oonchai raho jahanmai ;  
Ho teri sarabhandi jyon chand asman mai.

Tu man haya hamara, tu san haya hamari,  
Tu jit ka nishan ho, tu jin haya hamari ,  
Har ek basarki lut pur zari haya yai duvayain,  
Kaumi Tirangi Zanda ham shobhsai oodayain.

Akash or jamin pur ho tera bol bala,  
Zook jayai terai hur taj takhatwalla  
Har komki najarmain tu aman ka nishan ho,  
Ho aisai mussar saya tera jahan ho

Mustak bai nawabi khoosh hokai ga raha hai,  
Sar pur Tiranga Zanda jalwa dikha raha hai ,  
Kaumi Tiranga Zanda oonchai raho jahan mai !

From across the barrier vociferous clapping was the answer  
I am told the platoon on the British side was immediately withdrawn and replaced by a British Company

June 2, 1944

I am back in Rangoon P—came to fetch me at the Maymyo Hospital In the train, on the way back, he told me several interesting tit bits

The first was about the Jap Ambassador appointed to our Provisional Government. He arrived in Rangoon and sought audience of Netaji. Quickly came back the answer; "Send up your credentials to be checked by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs." The Ambassador replied "But my papers have been left behind in Tokyo." Netaji was firm "It is not possible to grant an interview without inspecting your credentials."

And the poor Ambassador had to cool his heels till the relevant papers were received from Tokyo.

Netaji never permits anybody to transgress the sanctity of our Provisional Government.

P—says that every Japanese Officer bows low when he comes in Netaji's presence. Not only that, but he bows even when he passes Netaji's photograph, as he would do before that of his own Emperor.

P—related the story of the release of Dr. J—. He had an English wife. So the Japs had suspected him of being an English spy and had locked him up in the Jail. All attempts to get him released had failed. Finally, a petition went to Netaji. He wrote across it "If he is a spy, the Japanese Government is fully entitled to shoot him. But if there are no proofs to that allegation, I demand that as an Indian subject he should be immediately set at liberty." And Dr. J—was released.

*June 4, 1944*

I am in Rangoon again. Sri K—related a story of the bravery of our men when Imphal had been surrounded.

Palel Aerodrome had been almost reached by the Fauj and some Jap detachments. It had been decided to storm the Aerodrome at night.

## CHALO DILLI

Our soldiers had run short of rations. They had lived on roots and wild fruits from the jungles, along with a very meagre ration of rice. So our Commander approached his Jap counterpart and requested that enough to cook one meal be given to them from the Jap stocks.

The Jap Commander politely replied, "We are also short of rations. Food in plenty lies where we are going tonight."

Our Commander was annoyed. He swore that he would get food for his men at any cost before nightfall. He gathered his men and spoke to them. Food is only available at the Aerodrome in front of us. The Japs cannot spare even a handful of rice to us. I suggest we show these Nippon men that Indians can fend out for themselves—can fight and win even on empty stomachs. Then we shall give *them* food. If you consent, off we go *now* to the Aerodrome.

With loud shouts of 'Jai Hind' our Fauj soldiers stormed the Aerodrome. And such was the ferocity of the charge, and the unexpectedness of the attack that the Aerodrome was taken before the British soldiers could mobilise their strength.

Thus we secured food as well as reputation for bravery.

Sri K—was accompanied by the young twelve year-old daughter of Sri A— She sings so beautifully. She has a voice with a silken strand in it. She sang our marching song.

Kadam kadam badhaye ja,  
Khushi ka git gayai ja,  
Yaha jindagi haya komki,  
To kompai lutayai ja !

Teri himmat badhti rahe,  
Khuda teri sunta rahe ,  
Jo samne teri chade,  
To khakme milaye ja !

Tu Shairai Hind agai budh,  
Marnaissai fir bhi tu ne dur ,  
Asman tuk oothakai sur,  
Joshai batan budhayai ja !

Chalo Dilli pukarke,  
Komi nishan samal ke ,  
Lal Kille gadhke,  
Lahraye ja, lahaye ja !

The picture of my recent fighting days arose before my eyes. How many precious Indian lives were being offered up for the cause of our freedom!—But we shall not falter, even if the last Indian has nothing more than an axe to fight with.

"Yaha jindagi haya komki,  
To kompai lutayai ja!"

*June 5, 1944*

Sri R—looked us up at tea-time in the morning. He described to us how in the beginning of April the National Bank of Azad Hind came into existence.

Netaji was discussing finance problems with a Muslim multi-millionaire here in Rangoon. He suggested to him that we must have our own Bank, because a Government without a bank is unheard of. Again as soon as Imphal falls, our Government would be issuing its own currency, and a bank would be invaluable then. Netaji asked our friend the multi-millionaire his suggestions for it.

The reply came in the form of a question: "Netaji, with how much capital do you wish to make a beginning?" Subhas Babu suggested that fifty lakhs would suffice for the purpose. Prompt was the answer: "Oh-ho, is that all you want? Then I myself shall give 30 lakhs, and the rest of the twenty lakhs I guarantee to present to you in a week's time."

And within a fortnight our Bank had taken legal shape and opened its doors to business. Shares totalled 50 lakhs, out of which 25 lakhs was paid-up-capital. The Bank was registered under the Burmese Law of Registration. Its cheques are as good as the rupee notes in current use. All businessmen accept them and actually prefer them to Jap currency.

Public response has been so good, and our credit so stable, that by now three branches have been opened—and there is a



## CHALO DILLI

demand for another five. The Bank keeps all the cash resources of our Government

P—related how once in the month of May, Netaji was at the Aerodrome, about to fly to Syonan on urgent business. He looked very pre occupied. Our leaders who had come to see him off did not know what was preying on his mind. A wealthy Chettiar approached Netaji and asked if it was possible to know the cause of his worries. Netaji answered "It is a question of finance. I do not think you in Rangoon can solve my problem. I require 20 lakhs of rupees, and at once, for our Fauj requirements. Our Fauj is in a critical condition and immediate reinforcements have to be sent."

In the meantime the aeroplane was ready to fly away, and Netaji got into his seat. For some unknown reason the plane was delayed by ten minutes. The Chettiar took the problem to the assembled leaders. Quick decisions were taken. And before the plane flew away, Subhas Babu was given the list of donors to the twenty lakhs he had asked for,—the whole sum having been contributed by those present.

I have put forth a suggestion that on 4th July, the anniversary of assumption by Netaji of our leadership, we should weigh him against jewels. For this an appeal should be issued to women to give their bangles and necklaces and rings. Sri C—says it is a good suggestion. I am writing to our Women's Section to take it up.

I wish the doctors would let me stir about and work. This convalescent period is trying in the extreme.

Have the Jap forces retreated from Kohima? That is what the Delhi Radio claims. I must find out from P—.

The Fauj is taking over guard duties wherever Indian settlements are found in Burma. We shall protect Indian lives and property against whatever calamity may befall us.

June 13, 1944

Mrs H—, her two daughters and son, visited me today afternoon. It seems, during the period I have been away, interesting events have taken place. A Balak Sena has been organised all over East Asia at Netaji's suggestion. I talked to the children and found that the Balak Sena is really working a revolution with them.

Mrs H—related the story of Dr P—, her neighbour. Dr. P—had been arrested and locked up on suspicion by the Japanese Army authorities. Mrs P—was very distracted and did not know which way to turn. After trying many avenues, Mr H— took her to Netaji. He listened to her story. Then he wrote a covering letter to the petition demanding the immediate release of Dr P—. When Mrs P—took Netaji's letter to the Jap Police Inspector, he growled "His Excellency Mr Brose has no right to interfere in our work."

Mrs P—suggested he should consult his superiors. He did. She was sent for there and then by the Police Commandant, and he uttered these very words "I apologise for the remarks of my Inspector. Once His Excellency Mr Bose signs your petition, it has as much authority as if it was signed by our own Emperor. I am passing orders for Dr P—'s release."

This is not a new story. Even in Syonan, when Netaji first arrived, many Indians were similarly released. There were four hundred who were languishing in the Jail under suspicion of being English spies. They had been roughly treated, tortured, starved and even man-handled. One of the first things Subhas Babu did was to demand the full details of the accusations against all Indians. He went through them one by one. He visited some of the prisoners, and sent our leaders to interview the rest. And finally every one who gave the undertaking that he would support the I I L was released. Even about the handful which

refused to give the undertaking, Netaji saw to it that torture would never be used against them.

*June 20, 1944*

American super-fortresses are said to have bombed the Jap mainland, but the damage is reported to be negligible.

My suggestion with regard to weighing our Netaji against jewels on the 4th of July has been approved. Women are sending in their precious jewellery,—a Madras lady has given away all her ornaments. I am sending my ear-rings, and necklaces. Out of the bangles, I am keeping back only two pairs.

Sri M—tells me that our I. I. L. Fund has reached the figure of one crore, thirty-three and a half lakhs of rupees. In the month of May itself nearly fourteen lakhs were collected. These are figures for Malaya only.

Branches and sub-branches of the I. I. L. are now seventy in Malaya.

I visited the Headquarters today. Would you believe it—there are full nineteen departments functioning for the Provisional Government. I counted them. The chief are: Supply, Finance, Audit, Recruiting and Training, Press-Publicity-Propaganda, Women, Education, Public Health and Social Welfare, and Reconstruction. The Rear Headquarters at Syonan duplicates the same departments for Malaya, Sumatra, Java and Borneo.

I learnt that the number of branches and sub-branches in Burma has surpassed those in Malaya. Here they have reached the figure of one hundred. In Thailand there are twenty-four, and there are separate ones in Sumatra, Java, Borneo and so on. The training camps for the Fauj have also increased. Now there are four in Malaya, able to train seven thousand at a time; four

in Burma with a capacity for three thousand and one in Thailand training a thousand. These are for the rank and file. For officers there are two—one in Syonan and one here in Rangoon. Nearly 2 000 officers have been trained so far.

For training the civil service there are now two centres under the Reconstruction Department—in Syonan and here. These are the men who will become representatives of the Provisional Government in the liberated areas.

Malaya has really been the backbone of our movement. We have given no less than 20 000 civilians for the Fauj. And in money and supplies our total is still higher than that of Burma, Thailand or any other part of East Asia.

So far as our relief work is concerned a big scheme has been successfully tackled in Malaya. Nearly 2 000 acres of virgin jungle was cleared and allotted to our settlers for planting. It is soil which will give very good returns. Our Malaya Branch has supplied the settlers with the necessary implements, seeds, facilities to build houses and some advance in money so that they can begin a new life. This has relieved the pressure on our Relief Centres.

I walked into the Education Department today. There I met Sri A— He told me that we have no less than sixty-five schools in Burma alone. National Schools have now been running successfully in every territory. Malaya has about fifty. The most wonderful feat is the teaching of Hindustani to children as well as adults. He said that the estimate of the Education Department is that now Hindustani has reached every Indian home, not the bazaar Hindustani but Hindustani which is learnt at the feet of an ustad. And we must not forget that a large proportion of our population is Tamil—from the labouring classes. Good work, —fine work—real nation building work.

## CHALO DILLI

Our Fauj Officers are helping the Burmans with military training in their Camps. We are giving all the help we can—even sharing our meagre food rations and equipment. The Japs have less thought for Burmans than for Indians, which is not saying much these days

June 21, 1944

Met Col A—today. He had great praise for the methods adopted to eliminate communalism from the ranks of the Fauj. The separate messes for Punjabees, and Madrasis and so forth, have been totally eliminated. The recruits sit together in a row to eat. One plate is provided to each recruit. The vegetarian dish is served first. Those who eat meat get it when the servers come a second time. They all sit mixed up. Besides the atmosphere in the Fauj is excellent. He for one, would love to consecrate his life to an army like the Fauj. It is a puritan army. It has no indulgence in slime and filthy sex talk, so usual in other armies. Here are soldiers who have dedicated themselves to high principles. That keeps them buoyed up. They are bound to be different from mercenaries, who only think of money and a wild life. You could not find a drunkard in the Fauj. He would soon find himself ostracised and thrown out. Here is democratic functioning where brothers in a common cause obey discipline because it is necessary for an organisation, not because it panders to pride and snobbishness of the officers.

I visited the Headquarters in the morning. I walked into the Health and Social Welfare Department. I met Dr. Miss J—. *She explained to me with great emphasis that the social welfare work undertaken by the I I L was as important as its political work.* She said that if the I I L closed this department we would soon find that distress and disease would considerably maim our population and prevent it from giving support to our political programme. 'We have sent hundreds of doctors and opened repeated relief centres in the deepest jungles of Malaya and Burma,

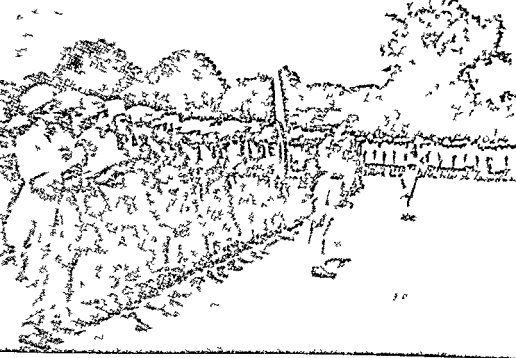
We distribute medicine free as well as arrange for free kitchens as soon as the need arises. Quinine in thousands of pounds has been distributed by us. Our one Kuala Lumpur Relief Camp deals with a daily average of a thousand men, women and children and has a monthly budget of seventy five thousand dollars. We have a good number of free dispensaries dotting the whole of Burma and Malaya apart from the Hospitals and Rest Centres we run. Our Kelewa Health Centre has rendered service to thousands. In Thailand we have a fully equipped first rate hospital—free for Indians. The Maymyo Hospital has won praise from the Japs and the Burmese too. We were short of medicines and medical appliances, but we had achieved great success all the same.

*July 1, 1944*

Sri K—came for dinner today. He is our Auditor General.

I sat with my guest and heard him explain to a Burmese friend how our finances are managed. He explained that voluntary gifts and auctions in public meetings of garlands etc. were good sources of income. But they could not suffice for all our expenditure. The need was for a total of at least 15 crores of rupees and the Provisional Government had therefore laid a tax on Indians. This tax was not collected on the basis of income or profits made in the year. The procedure was this. First a committee of prominent businessmen was formed to estimate the capital of every Indian. Then the Government decided that a certain percentage of that property—ten per cent—should be paid in as tax. The Committee decided in how many instalments that share was to be remitted to the Government. The National Bank of Azad Hind received payments on behalf of the Government.

This tax was collected only from Indians. Instances occurred of tax dodgers claiming to be Burman subjects. There were other who brought up excuses and prevarications. The former



Our training has been satisfactory and complete

## **RANI OF JIANSI REGIMENT**

We are denied access to the front line We are reduced  
to a corps of nurses This is un understandable

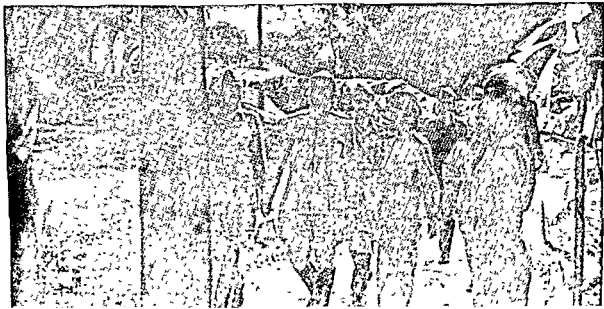




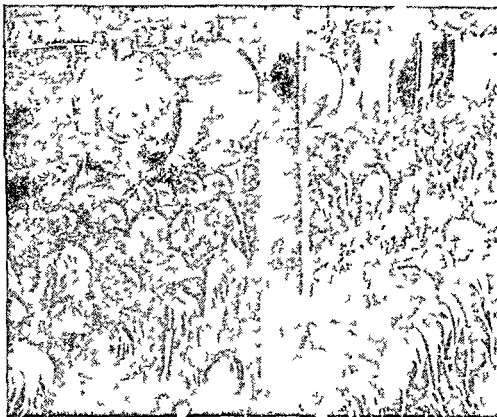
"When you opened our first training camp, you assured us that we could fight in the thick of the battle like the Rani . . ."

## **RANI OF JHANSI REGIMENT**

'We have signed this petition with our blood. to prove that we are determined to give our lives in the cause of Indian freedom....'

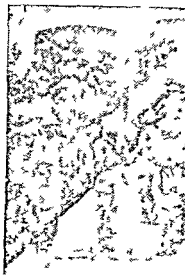






I can offer you  
nothing except  
hunger thirst  
privation forced  
marches and  
death so that  
India shall be  
free

—Azad Hind Fauj en training for  
the Imphal and Arakhan Fronts





'It does not matter who among us will live  
—The Azad Hind Fauj in the hilly area of Assam

Sri Subhas Bose with his Staff Officers  
examining plans of the campaign.



## CHALO DILLI

were let off with the proviso that the Azad Hind Government would refuse to give them protection in the future; the latter were allowed to go in appeal, and at the end of a long rope, finally forced to pay.

Burma had been estimated to produce eight crores of rupees, out of which, up to date, some three and a half crores in cash and forty lakhs worth of goods had been remitted.

"In spite of tightened belts round empty stomachs, we have refused to borrow loans from the Jap or any other Government. We know one thing; if we take loans today, we are jeopardising the economic freedom of our country tomorrow. Therefore, even from our friends, we do not take loans—we refuse to borrow money. All our finances are based on the cardinal rule: Indians stand on their own legs; they refuse stilts lent by others. This has given us a lot of independence in our dealings with the Japs. Also it has prevented our worst enemies from pointing a finger at the smallest item in our programme to say that we have bartered the future of our country.

"That is also the reason why we have no Japanese trainers in our Camps, or Jap or German experts on our Staff, or Jap officers to lead our soldiers in battle. Our Fauj is Indian from top to toe."

*July 4, 1944*

Subhas Babu arrived from the front on the 2nd. He has been touring the whole front for the last two months and has personally inspired the soldiers of the Fauj.

To-day begins "Netaji Week". To-day last year Subhas Babu took over the leadership of the East Asia movement at the Syonan Conference, Fourth of July! Three million Indians

stood united behind Subhas Babu on the 4th of July last year and swore that "Freedom or Death" shall be their slogan.

The Jubilee Hall was packed to capacity once again today. Loud speakers were also installed outside on the road. The whole scene looked paved with human heads instead of cobble-stones. The road outside, the steps, the hall and its lobbies, every nook and corner was packed with struggling humanity.

"Our achievements during the last twelve months can now be summed up :

1. We have been able to mobilise men, money and materials in accordance with the programme of "Total Mobilisation."
2. We have trained our Army for a modern war and have expanded it considerably.
3. We have organised a women's section in our Army called the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.
4. We have set up our own Government, the Arzi Hukumat-e-Azad Hind, and have obtained recognition from nine friendly Powers.
5. We have acquired our first Free Territory in the Andamans and Nicobar Islands.
6. We pushed forward our Headquarters to Burma, and in February 1944 we launched our War of Independence. On the 21st March we were able to proclaim to the world that our troops were already in India.
7. We have considerably expanded the work of our Press-Propaganda-Publicity Department.

## CHALO DILLI

8. We have set up a new organisation called the Azad Hind Dal to take over the task of administration and reconstruction in Free India
9. We have set up a Bank of our own in Burma—the National Bank of Azad Hind Ltd. We have placed orders for our own currency to circulate in Free India
10. We have been able to give a good account of ourselves in every sector of the fighting front and our troops have been pushing on inside India, slowly but steadily, in spite of all difficulties and hardships

There was a time when people had some doubt as to whether the Indian National Army would go into action and whether, if it went into action it would really defeat the enemy troops. That test we have passed and naturally it has given us unbounded confidence in ourselves.

'Since the fighting began on the soil of India, this war has become our own war, and the feeling that the war has become our own war has brought a new inspiration not only to our troops who are actually fighting but also to those who are behind the lines.

Uptil now, I have not received any complaint from our troops regarding the hardships that they are suffering. There has been only one complaint from the men and that is when there has been delay in sending them forward. For example, I recently visited an hospital where there were men who have either been wounded or stricken with malaria or some other disease. All these troops expressed their desire to be sent back to the front as soon as they were well. These are men who fought at the front and they know the conditions there, and yet they were absolutely cheerful and optimistic. Without indulging in any exaggeration

I can say that this feeling of unbounded optimism prevails among all Indians in East Asia.....

"There is still another reason which strengthens our optimism, and that is the situation inside India. As you are well aware, so far there has been no compromise between the Congress Party on the one side and the British Government on the other. When Mahatma Gandhi was suddenly released some time ago, many people were speculating as to whether the release was purely on grounds of ill-health or it was a prelude to a compromise. Now it is quite clear that the sudden release of Mahatma Gandhi was ordered purely on medical grounds and that there is no political motive involved. As long as there is no compromise between Mahatma Gandhi and the British Government, we have no reason to feel anxious..... Our task will be made much easier if there is no compromise inside India between the Congress and the British Government. So far there is absolutely no sign of compromise, and what is exceedingly encouraging to us is that the statements Mahatma Gandhi has made upto now all point in one direction, and that is that he sees no reason to alter the attitude he took up about two years ago when he sponsored the "Quit India" resolution.....

"Therefore, I come to the conclusion that the situation inside India remains exceedingly favourable to us. One can easily understand that so long as the Congress does not compromise and does not surrender to the British Government, the general attitude of the people will remain anti-British. As our operations advance, people will soon realise that there is no other way of achieving freedom than fighting for it, and they will decide to participate in the war and to give us all assistance to conduct our war."

People had listened to the speech of Netaji spell-bound. It took nearly an hour and a half for the crowd to disperse after the meeting was over. Such enthusiasm!

*July 5, 1944*

Today was the second day of the Netaji Week. The Fauj soldiers in Rangoon held a parade with Subhas Babu taking the salute. It was an imposing spectacle. The turn-out of our Regiment was perfect, and Subhas Babu paid us a high compliment.

Netaji spoke to the Fauj soldiers :

"The formation of the Azad Hind Fauj has been a source of extreme worry and anxiety to our enemies. They tried to ignore its existence for a time, but when the news could no longer be suppressed, their organ—the anti-India Radio at Delhi—started propaganda to the effect that Indian prisoners-of-war, under Japanese control, had been coerced into joining the army. This propaganda could not, however, endure long, because the news began to infiltrate into India that large numbers of Indian civilians from all parts of East Asia were joining the Azad Hind Fauj. The experts of the anti-India Radio had therefore to alter their tactics. They then started fresh propaganda to the effect that Indian prisoners of war had refused to join the Azad Hind Fauj and that, thereupon, Indian civilians were being forced into joining that army. It did not probably strike the wise acres at Delhi that if it was impossible to coerce prisoners-of-war into joining the army, it was even more impossible to coerce free civilians into becoming soldiers . . .

"Anybody who has a grain of common sense will realize that though a mercenary army can be organized by coercion, a Volunteer Army can never be so organized. You can perhaps force a man to shoulder a rifle, but you can never force him to give his life for a cause which is not his own.

"At an early stage our enemies used to say that the Azad Hind Fauj was no army—that it was a mere propaganda stunt—and that it would never fight. Later on, the anti-India Radio at Delhi began to shout that the Azad Hind Fauj had not crossed

the frontier of India. Now that frontier has been crossed and the battle for India's freedom is being waged on Indian soil, enemy propagandists have taken recourse to a last desperate trick. They are now inventing fictitious dates supposed to have been given out by us for our entry into Delhi and are abusing us for not reaching our destination according to schedule.

'I have already told you that the Azad Hind Fauj is composed both of ex-Army men as well as of ex-civilians. I may inform you further that it is composed not only of men but also of women.

Friends, the Azad Hind Fauj is an army which is not only composed of Indians but it has also been trained by Indians. That army is to-day fighting under Indian Officers.

The Azad Hind Fauj is the military organ of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. The Provisional Government and its Army are the servants of the Indian nation. Their task is to fight and liberate India. When that liberation is achieved it will be for the Indian people to determine the form of Government that they desire. The Provisional Government will then make room for a permanent Government in Free India which will be set up in accordance with the will of the Indian people. For that glorious day we are now toiling, sweating and fighting.

Shouts of Jai Hind rose from thousands of throats, the soldiers lifted their rifles and placed them high on their shoulders and gave resounding slogans of Chalo-Dilli and Jai Hind.

Then Netaji referred to the brave exploits of our heroes in the Arakan fight and decorated Major M—with the medal Sardar-e Jang for efficient leadership of the Fauj on the Arakan front. He also decorated Lieut P—with 'Vir-e-Hind' for high



## CHALO DILLI

standard of patriotism, courage and devotion to duty on 5th February.

*July 6, 1944*

Netaji addressed Gandhiji on the radio to-day.

He spoke as if he would speak to his father, straight from the heart, without hiding a word of his joys and sorrows, without hushing a single discordant note.

My short-hand came very handy. I should like my son to read this speech when he grows up. It will tell him in one breath what I have been struggling to record in page after page of this diary.

"Mahatmaji,

"After the sad demise of Srimati Kasturba in British custody, it was but natural for your countrymen to be alarmed over the state of your health. . . . . For Indians outside India, differences in method are like domestic differences. Ever since you sponsored the Independence Resolution at the Lahore Congress in December 1929, all members of the Indian National Congress have had one common goal before them. For Indians outside India, you are the creator of the present awakening in our country. . . . . The high esteem in which you are held by patriotic Indians outside India and by foreign friends of India's freedom, was increased a hundred-fold when you bravely sponsored the "Quit India" Resolution in August 1942. . . . .

"It would be a fatal mistake on our part to make a distinction between the British Government and the British people. No doubt there is a small group of idealists in Britain—as in the U.S.A.—who would like to see India free. These idealists, who are treated by their own people as cranks, form

a microscopic minority. So far as India is concerned, for all practical purposes, the British Government and the British people mean one and the same thing. Regarding the war aims of the U. S. A., I may say that the ruling clique at Washington is now dreaming of world domination. This ruling clique and its intellectual exponents, talk openly of the 'American Century'. In this ruling clique, there are extremists who go so far as to call Britain the 49th State of the U. S. A.

'I can assure you, Mahatmaji, that before I finally decided to set out on this hazardous mission, I spent days, weeks and months in carefully considering the pros and cons of the case. After having served my people so long to the best of my ability, I could have no desire to be a traitor, or to give anyone a justification for calling me a traitor. Thanks to the generosity and to the affection of my countrymen, I had obtained the highest honour which it was possible for any public worker in India to achieve. I had also built up a party consisting of staunch and loyal colleagues who had implicit confidence in me. By going abroad on a perilous quest, I was risking not only my life and my whole future career, but what was more, the future of my party. If I had the slightest hope that without action from abroad we could win freedom, I would never have left India during a crisis. If I had any hope that within our lifetime we could get another chance—another golden opportunity—for winning freedom as during the present war, I doubt if I would have set out from home.

"There remains but one question for me to answer with regard to the Axis powers. Can it be possible that I have been deceived by them? I believe it will be universally admitted that the cleverest and the most cunning politicians are to be found amongst Britishers. One who has worked with and fought British politicians all his life, cannot be deceived by

any other politicians in the world. If British politicians have failed to coax or coerce me, no other politician can succeed in doing so. And if the British Government, at whose hands I have suffered long imprisonment, persecution and physical assault, has been unable to demoralize me, no other power can hope to do so. I have never done anything which could compromise in the least either the honour or the self-respect or the interests of my country.

There was a time when Japan was an ally of our enemy. I did not come to Japan so long as there was an Anglo-Japanese Alliance. I did not come to Japan so long as normal diplomatic relations obtained between the two countries. It was only after Japan took what I considered to be the most momentous step in her history, namely, declaration of war on Britain and America, that I decided to visit Japan of my own free will. Like so many of my countrymen, my sympathies in 1937 and 1938 were with Chungking. You may remember that as President of the Congress, I was responsible for sending out a medical mission to Chungking in December 1938.

Mahatmaji, you know better than anybody else how deeply suspicious the Indian people are of mere promises. I would be the last man to be influenced by Japan if her declarations of policy had been mere promises.

Mahatmaji, I should now like to say something about the Provisional Government that we have set up here. The Provisional Government has as its one objective the liberation of India from British yoke through an armed struggle. Once our enemies are expelled from India and peace and order is established, the mission of the Provisional Government will be over. The only reward that we desire for our efforts for our suffering and for our sacrifice is the

freedom of our Motherland. There are many among us who would like to retire from the political field, once India is free.....

"Nobody would be more happy than ourselves, if by any chance our countrymen at home should succeed in liberating themselves through their own efforts, or if by any chance, the British Government accepts your 'Quit India' resolution and gives effect to it. We are, however, proceeding on the assumption that neither of the above is possible and that an armed struggle is inevitable.....India's last war of independence has begun. Troops of the Azad Hind Fauj are now fighting bravely on the soil of India and in spite of all difficulty and hardship, they are pushing forward slowly but steadily. This armed struggle will go on, until the last Britisher is thrown out of India and until our Tri-Colour National Flag proudly floats over the Viceroy's house in New Delhi.

"Father of our nation! In this holy war for India's liberation, we ask for your blessings and good wishes."

*July 9, 1944*

Today, in front of thousands of spectators, Netaji announced the great sacrifice of Sri H—, a Muslim multi-millionaire. He has presented his jewellery, estates and properties worth about a crore of rupees to the I. I. L. for the freedom struggle. Netaji awarded him the medal of Sevak-e-Hind. He is the first to receive it.

P—told me that reports from India are very promising. But our Staff Officers are expecting a long and hard struggle before the British quit India. The British are bound to fight desperately in their last effort to save the empire. Minus India, Britain would become a third-rate power. They know it.

Subhas Babu talks in inspired language when he talks about victory. His faith is really very deep. I tremble at the thought : If something were to go wrong with our plans, would he be broken—too sorely affected ? He has put all his eggs in this one basket . Azadi. All of us in East Asia are doing it. God will protect us.

July 10, 1944

Subhas Babu delivered a thundering oration at the public rally. The audience was nearly thirty thousand. He outlined the strategy of our Movement in the following terms .

“ We know that so long as the British Army in India is not attacked from outside, it will be able to suppress the revolutionary movement in the country. The Azad Hind Fauj has, therefore, set up the ‘ Second Front ’ in India’s war of emancipation. When we advance further into India and the Indian people see with their own eyes, the British forces falling back, they will get the confidence that Britain’s downfall is at hand. Then only will they risk their necks and come and join hands with our advancing forces to liberate the country. Together we shall then pursue the British and expel them from the soil of India . . . . .

“ Friends ! Only a fool would minimise the strength of the enemy. We have seen heterogenous armies of our enemies in the Arakans, in the Kaladan and Haka sectors, in the Tiddim area and in Manipur and Assam. As we anticipated long ago, their rations and equipment are superior to ours, because they have been looting India in order to fight us. We have, nevertheless, beaten them everywhere. Revolutionary armies everywhere in the world have to fight under conditions similar to ours but they, nevertheless, triumph at the end. Their strength does not come from beer and rum, tinned-pork and bully-beef—but from faith and

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## CHALO DILLI

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sacrifice, heroism and fortitude The Azad Hind Fauj—unlike the British Army in India—has been trained to fight under conditions of extreme difficulty and hardship, and it will never let down the 388 millions of Indians for whose liberation it is now fighting "

*July 11, 1944*

A ceremonial parade of the Fauj was held today at the tomb of Bahadur Shah, the last Emperor of Delhi

Netaji discussed the 1857 struggle for independence, made a masterly analysis of the causes of its failure, compared it with our struggle today, and then gave the supreme call for immolation on the alter of freedom

' As I study the events of 1857 and think of the atrocities perpetrated by the British after the revolution collapsed — my blood begins to boil If we are men, we will certainly see to it that the heroes of 1857 and after, who suffered so much from British terror and brutality, are properly avenged India demands revenge The British who spilt the blood of innocent freedom loving Indians and tortured them in an inhuman manner—not only during the war, but after it was over—must pay for their crimes We Indians do not hate the enemy enough If you want your countrymen to rise to heights of superhuman courage and heroism you must teach them not only to love their country but also to hate the enemy

' Therefore, I call for blood It is only the blood of the enemy that can avenge his crimes of the past But we can take blood only if we are prepared to give blood Consequently, our programme for the future is to give blood The blood of our heroes in this war will wash away our sins of the past The blood of our heroes will be the price of our



## CHALO DILLI

liberty. The blood of our heroes—their heroism and their bravery—will secure for the Indian people the revenge that they demand of their British tyrants and oppressors.”

*July 12, 1944*

Subhas Babu gave a talk to our Women's Section about tactics adopted by enemy propaganda. It was extremely instructive.

“The methods of British propaganda during the last war, have been recorded in black and white by Englishmen themselves. One has only to read such books as ‘Secrets of Crews House’ and ‘Wartime Falsehoods’ by Ponsonby, to realise what British propagandists are capable of. It was an English General, Brigadier Charteris who started the rumour in the last war that the Germans were extracting fat from the bodies of dead soldiers. He knew that it was a deliberate falsehood, and after the war, he confessed that he had not hoped that his propaganda would strike roots. But the unsophisticated section of the world public thought that a British General could not lie, and the trick therefore worked

“A leopard cannot change its spots. The liar cannot stop lying even if he knows that he is no longer trusted. He hopes against hope that there are still enough fools in this world who could be taken in. Consequently, I am not surprised that the British are continuing their game of lying and bluffing ...

“For a fairly long time, enemy propagandists put out a story that the Azad Hind Fauj was a puppet army which has been forced to fight Japan's war. But they ultimately realised that the trick was not working. Everybody was naturally asking as to how a puppet army could fight so bravely and so stubbornly. The tactics have now been altered,

and the world is being told that the Azad Hind Fauj is a ragged army with poor rations and poor equipment.....

"Revolutionary armies all over the world—whether in Ireland or Italy or Russia or elsewhere—have to fight under similar conditions. Everywhere they have won at the end. So also shall we. But we shall first have to pay for our liberty with our blood.

"A new stunt is that Islam is persecuted here, that we are anti-Muslims. You know what falsehood that is. We have Muslims in the Provisional Government, in the I. I. L. & in the Fauj. Muslim Officers in our Fauj are not nobodies. They are sons of distinguished families who took their education in the Military Academy at Dehra Dun. No, their lies cannot affect us. Nor will the world believe them."

*/ August 1, 1944*

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In the evening we had Saha-Bhojana of all workers of the I. I. L. at the Headquarters. Somebody asked Subhas Babu to explain how the conflict between his plan for freedom and that of Mahatmaji would be resolved. Subhas Babu replied: "We, in East Asia, have chalked out a concrete plan for winning liberty for India. Whether that plan is good or bad, so long as no alternative plan is forthcoming, our plan is bound to hold the field. The only other alternative plan that has been mooted is that of Mahatma Gandhiji, embodied in the Quit India Resolution of the Congress. If that plan succeeds, our plan and our activities would become superfluous and redundant. None would be happier than myself in that event.

## CHALO DILLI

"But unfortunately Gandhiji's plan has been rejected and has failed. Now all hopes for Indian Independence rest entirely on the fulfilment of our plan. Gandhiji's plan is a shorter cut than ours. But it is disapproved by the British. Now to fulfil even Gandhiji's plan, the success of our plan is absolutely essential to force the hands of the British. The only way the British can undo our plan fructifying is by making peace with Gandhiji and the Congress on the basis of the Quit India Resolution. If the British quit India, I shall plead with you to disband the Fauj immediately."

Have the Japs evacuated Imphal and Myitkina?—The beginning of the end?

## EBBING TIDE

*August 13, 1944*

Netaji spoke to the chief workers at the I. I. L. Headquarters, when all departmental heads as well as ministers and advisers were present.

He reported on the war situation. He said:

"We started operations too late. The monsoon was disadvantageous to us. Our roads were submerged. River traffic had to be against current. Against this the enemy had first-class roads. Our only chance was to take Imphal before the rain started, and we would have succeeded if we had more air support and if their forces in Imphal had not special orders to make a stand to the last man. If we had started in January we would have succeeded. In all sectors, till the rains began, we either held the enemy or advanced. In the Arakan Sector the enemy was held. In the Kalachin Sector, we routed the enemy and advanced. In the Kohima Sector we advanced. In Palel and Kohima also we advanced. In the Haka Sector we held them. And these all, in spite of the

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numerical superiority that the enemy had, plus equipment and rations

' When the rains came we had to postpone the general assault on Imphal. The enemy was able to send mechanised divisions and thus was able to retake the Kohima—Imphal Road. The question then arose where we should hold the line. There were two courses open. Either hold on to the Bishenpur Palel Line and not allow the enemy to advance or fall back and hold a more advantageous position.

What are the lessons we have learnt from this Campaign? We have received our baptism of fire. A body of ex-civilians who were ordered to withdraw when the ammunition was exhausted, preferred not to withdraw, and with fixed bayonets they charged the enemy. They came back victorious.

' Our troops have gained much confidence. We have learnt that the Indian troops with the enemy are willing to come over. We must now make arrangements to take them over. We have learnt the tactics of the enemy. We have captured enemy documents. The experience gained by our Commanders has been invaluable. Before the campaign started the Japanese had no confidence in our troops and wanted to break them up into batches attached to the Japanese Army. I wanted a front to be given to our men and this was ultimately given. Our Divisional Commander and other Officers have gained much experience from this campaign.

We have also learnt our defects. Transport and supply were defective owing to the difficult terrain. We had no Front Line Propaganda. Though we had prepared personnel for this we could not use it owing to lack of transport. Henceforth each Unit of the I N A will have a propaganda







"In the name of God I take this holy oath to liberate  
India and forty crores of my countrymen

—Major Dr. Laxmi Swaminathan

## EBBING TIDE

unit attached to it. We wanted loud speakers but the Japanese failed to supply them to us. We are now making our own."

*August 21, 1944*

Our Sepah-Salar, Netaji, has issued an Order of the Day suspending military operations due to the monsoon. He has asked everybody to get ready for the offensive.

At a mass public meeting, Netaji decorated Mrs B— with the medal "Sevak-e-Hind" for her gifts and sacrifices for the cause of Indian freedom.

*September 10, 1944*

For the last whole week the conference of Burma I. I. L. has been in sessions. 180 delegates from 74 branches attended. The conference has now ended. Sri G—, General Secretary, told me that it was a very successful and business-like affair, and many difficulties have been surmounted.

When will India realise the mute services of Netaji to his Motherland,—how he has prevented the Japs from bombing Calcutta, Jamshedpur, Madras and other thickly-populated areas out of existence? Sri R—told me that our Azad Hind Government has held the hands of the Japs, saying we can be no party to destruction of India, that India must fall into our hands like a ripe apple.

My diary is becoming scrappy. But I can't help it. I can hardly spare the time from my work.....

*September 22, 1944*

We observed Jatin Das Anniversary and Martyrs' Day yesterday. The Jubilee Hall was packed to suffocation. Speaker

after speaker had revived the memories of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, facing the gallows with the shout of Inquilab-Zindabad, of Chandrasekhar Azad of immortal fame, of Suniti and Shanti—the brave girls who shot a District Magistrate in Bengal, of Bina Das who fired at the Governor of Bengal in the University Convocation Hall at Calcutta. Many inspiring names of revolutionaries from India's soil were taken. The story of Jatin Das, dying by a glorious hunger strike, inch by inch, in Lahore Jail was related.

Our eyes filled with tears repeatedly. Many sobbed aloud when the tortures of the revolutionaries were related,

' Then spoke Netaji :

"Our Motherland is seeking liberty. She can no more live without liberty. But Liberty demands sacrifice at its altar. Liberty demands the unstinted sacrifice of your strength, your wealth, all that you value, all that you possess. Like the revolutionaries of the past you must sacrifice your ease, your comfort, your pleasures, your cash, your property. You have given your sons as soldiers for the battlefields. But the Goddess of Liberty is not yet appeased. I shall tell you the secret of pleasing her. Today she demands not merely fighters, soldiers for the Fauj. Today she demands rebels—men rebels and women rebels—who will be prepared to join Suicide Squads—for whom death is a certainty—rebels who will be ready to drown the enemy in the streams of blood that shall flow from their own body.

"Tum hum ko khun deo,  
Mai tumko Azadi doonga !

"You give me your blood, I shall get you freedom—this is the demand of Liberty".

Shouts arose from the audience spontaneously, "We are ready—We shall give our blood—Take it now".

## EBBING TIDE

Netaji continued. "Listen to me, I do not want your emotional approval. I want rebels to step forward and sign this Suicide Squad Oath—this document which is an appointment with death on the altar of the Goddess of Liberty".

"We are ready to sign", came back the answer from every corner of the Hall.

"But you cannot sign an appointment with death in ordinary ink. You shall have to write with your own blood. Step up, those who dare, I am here to witness your blood seal for liberty for our Motherland".

The vast audience suddenly was on its legs and frantic humanity surged towards the platform. We were sitting at the foot of the platform. We were pushed aside by an irresistible force and the first to sign were already on the platform. Knives and pins were drawing blood, and the first signatures were made. There were seventeen women who signed first,—they would not yield place to menfolk until their batch had finished. For an hour people were signing—in every part of the hall, with their blood their own doom of death.

The enthusiasm in the audience was unbelievable. There were radiant faces with eyes that sparkled, all around. Now I knew what the Rajputs must have looked like when they fell on their enemies during the famous Kesaria ceremony. Such a nation can never be denied liberty. British Empire! Here are thy grave-diggers.

When I came home I saw a cut on P—'s finger. He had been hiding it from me. One look and I understood. He had signed on for the Suicide Squad. For a second, fear gripped my heart and tears drowned my eyes. But the nervousness soon passed. I clutched at my hero and kissed him.

I did not sleep yesterday night. I am haunted by the fear of being left alone to face the world—without P—! I shall not tell him to change his mind. That is impossible. The dilemma in my mind is only on one problem. If I also sign off, what about our son? He should have thought of that. I could go instead of him. I am more dispensable . . .

Oh P—, was even *this* necessary? But you must judge for yourself. P—, you are testing me in ways I never thought possible. But I shall not fail you, my hero

September 27, 1944

I met Subhas Babu at the Headquarters, today. He was going out and I was coming in. I smartly came to attention and saluted "Jai Hind". He stopped, asked about my wounds, and said nice things about P—. I told him that the Delhi Radio had called him a dreamer.

Netaji was silent for a minute. Then he replied—and the words were so softly spoken—they were not spoken in anger—they were words in which he put his soul. He said "They call me a dreamer, do they? But I confess that I am a dreamer. I have always been a dreamer, even when I was a child. I have been a dreamer of dreams, but the dream of all my dreams, the dearest dream of my life, has been the dream of freedom for India. They think it is a discredit to be a dreamer? I take pride in being one. They do not like my dreams. But that is nothing new. If I did not dream dreams of India's freedom, I would have accepted the chains of slavery as something eternal. The real crux of the question is, can my dreams become realities? I submit they have increasingly become realities. The Army is one such dream come true. You with your husband is another. No, I do not mind being a dreamer. The progress of the world has depended on dreamers and their dreams,—not dreams of exploitation and aggrandisement and perpetuating injustice,—but

## EBBING TIDE

dreams of progress, happiness for the widest masses, liberty and independence for all nations."

And he stepped away. What a grand man he is !

*October 2, 1944*

We observed Gandhi Jayanti today. Every Indian house hoisted the Tricolour. A flag salutation ceremony was held by the Fauj in the morning. We all renewed our pledges to free our India. The Congress Independence Pledge was signed by thousands of Indians in Rangoon.

*October 20, 1944*

The Japs have retreated from Tiddim ! The 14th Army of the British is said to be a tough enemy. But it will be no match for our Fauj soldiers.

But why is not the Fauj at the front in full strength ?

*November 17, 1944*

Today we celebrated the death anniversary of Lala Lajpat Rai, the great revolutionary of the Punjab.

Sri N—has come here from Bangkok. He talked to the G. H. Q. Staff :

"We—three million Indians of the East Asia—have firmly resolved to fight for our country's liberty. We will win or we

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—three million Indians of the East Asia—have firmly fight for our country's liberty. We will win or we

will die. But if in the course of our great battle for the emancipation of India we should fall, we shall fall with the consciousness of having done our duty as true Indians. We are not afraid of defeats. From every drop of blood we shed, avengers will spring up. Britain may strain and struggle, but India's independence shall be won. Four hundred million human beings have a right to be free.....

"I want to make one point perfectly clear. Subhas Babu and his three million supporters in East Asia are no friends of imperialism—imperialism of any kind. Political independence, so far as India is concerned, is only a means to an end, the end being radical transformation of Indian Society."

Sri N— is not very popular with the Jap authorities. His views on society and socialism are looked upon with great askance by them. But the Japs are powerless to touch him, so long as our Provisional Government claims him as its subject. If he had been a Chinese, he would have been taken to the Y. M. C. A. building long back—for "reformation". Netaji has been a huge pillar of strength for all Indians. It is after his coming here that we have become safe. Our lot would not have been different from those of other enemy nationals, but for him.

Sri N— told us that the Kikan had made difficulties over his Introduction to the book: "On To Delhi", a collection of speeches and broadcasts of Netaji. But ultimately, they had to give in and the book was sold in the open market. The Japs have however put private pressure on the daily "Bangkok Chronicle"

## EBBING TIDE

to boycott Sri N—'s future writings in their paper, and quite successfully at least till today

Sri N— is a brave, fearless fighter. He is looked upon with respect in Thailand, and we have read his articles in the newspapers repeatedly. The picture I had formed in my mind about him tallied with the impression he made at the meeting. The sons and daughters of India in East Asia would command respect anywhere in the world.

*December 26, 1944*

✓ The Chinese Armies have taken Bhamo, and the British Army is at Buthidaung !

But in a war there would always be ups and downs. Netaji always said: 'The British will do their best fighting in Assam and the Bengal border.'

P— told me today that the present campaign of our Fauj is a defensive campaign. And that for two reasons: First the loss of Burma would hamper our Movement, second, the Japanese are in difficulties in the Pacific, and are not able to give us the help they otherwise would have given.

*January 26, 1945*

Independence Day ! We had a fine meeting.

P— left for an unknown destination today. Shall we ever meet again, my husband ? I must not even acknowledge to myself the forebodings that arise in my mind.

I must keep a firm hold over myself—and sink myself further in work

The British have landed in Akyab! Everything is not perfect at the front. But our determination to fight and win is unshakable

Forty lakhs of rupees were collected during the last two weeks for our Azad Hind Government, as Malaya's share on Independence Day. The total collections in Burma have reached the figure of 8 crores

*February 15, 1945*

We have some inspiring news to balance the daily story of rear guard actions. The Subhas Brigade soldiers under Col S— have worked wonders, and have stemmed the tide of the 14th Army

*March 6, 1945.*

The Pacific fighting is looking ominous as the jumping MacArthur goes from island to island. Tokyo was bombed by 1,500 American planes for nine hours—this is the boast of the Allies. The whole boast may not be true—but the Japs are in for mortal trouble. One feels it in their behaviour here. The Americans have landed in Iwojima and maintained foothold so far. But they are bound to be pushed back

Our Azad Brigade, with Col Z— as Commander, has won laurels. Our Fauj soldiers are fighting with mad frenzy. Here is a story I heard about them

## EBBING TIDE

When they received the order: "Retreat", there was general commotion. It looked as if there would be mutiny, because every one of them refused to obey the order.

"Our orders are to reach Delhi. That is what our Sepah-Salar Netaji told us. He has warned us not to retreat under any circumstances. This might be just a dodge of the British fifth-columnists, like those four Majors of the Second Division, Day and Madan, Raiaz and Gulam Sarvar".

The Commander and other Officers pleaded with them, explained to them the reason for retreat. "Our ammunition is in a bad way—we have no trucks or motor cars—our stocks of food got exhausted when we crossed the Chindwin. We have lived on grass and roots. Now most of us are running fever. Malaria is taking its toll, and our stocks of medicines are also gone. We have no option but to retreat."

But the rank and file was unconvinced: "We have lived on grass and leaves so long. We shall live on it yet. We want to keep marching on. We shall do without medicines. But we must keep on pressing the enemy. We shall not disobey Netaji."

These men had twice thrown the British Army back over the Irrawady bridgeheads.

It was explained to them that the Japs had already retreated. There was no option but to fall back. But they remained obdurate. "Let us pursue the enemy and annihilate him when we have a chance", was their answer.

A special messenger sped to the rear and brought Subhas Babu's order written in his own handwriting. Now there was no word of protest. It took the form of tears and sobs. Like small children these hefty, brave warriors cried. With broken hearts they turned their backs on the battle-field and retreated. That day none of them ate. Was it the beginning of the end, that was the unspoken question in their faces.—Is it?

*March 15, 1945*

Meiktila fell on the 5th and I am told the Japs are insisting on vacating Rangoon.

Netaji has been using all his persuasiveness to allow the Fauj to go on fighting and to hold Rangoon. To allow Burma to go into the hands of the British means that Delhi will be farther off than ever, that our hopes of freedom are finally smashed.

The Gandhi and Nehru Brigades have suffered great losses, but every inch yielded means a terrific toll for the British Army. We are fighting with our backs to the wall and contesting every inch of ground.

I hear rumours that Mandalay has fallen to the 19th British Division. Also Maymyo.—What is happening? How have the British become so powerful? Is it the Americans who are doing it? Jap air support has practically disappeared...

*April 5, 1945*

Moscow announced that Soviet-Jap Neutrality Pact is no more to be in operation! This definitely means the end.....

## EBBING TIDE

*April 24, 1945*

Today Subhas Babu left Rangoon for Bangkok. He refused to leave until the Rani of Jhansi Regiment and others were evacuated. I am attached to the Rangoon G. H. Q. and will not leave. My request to that effect has been granted.

The Jap C-in-C left yesterday.

Subhas Babu was the last to leave. I shall not forget the look he cast on us before he got into the plane.

The Fauj has been left in charge of Rangoon. General Loganadan will command it. 7,000 soldiers of the Fauj will maintain order and protect property. When the British arrive, we are not to fight. We know Rangoon is a trap. But to evacuate to Malaya—when the chance of winning Indian Independence is lost,—is useless. We shall surrender in an orderly manner.

Our I. I. L. has been left in charge of Sri Bahaduri. He is the senior-most man, our Vice President.

Our Government has paid off every creditor—every outstanding bill—before it shifted to Bangkok.

Our Bank will remain open, even after the British arrive. As the Free Burma Government had no money to pay its Army-men, the Bank has made a free gift of five lakhs of rupees to it. The United Nations are celebrating at San Francisco...Neros fiddling when our Rome is burning .....

May 4, 1945

Yesterday Rangoon surrendered to the British. Pegu fell on the 2nd ; Toungoo a week ago.

But there is praise for the way our Fauj maintained order in Rangoon. There has not been a single case of theft or robbery during the period we have been in charge. How different from what occurred when the British evacuated in 1942 !

The Irrawady was heavily mined by the Japs, and Rangoon could easily have lent itself to house-to-house fighting. But the decision was taken to surrender peacefully. Our cause is lost for the moment. We will not waste Indian lives and property for Jap prestige.

Reports from our I. I. L. branches show that even in the districts our members prevented any harm befalling Indian and Burmese lives and property.

May 5, 1945

Brigadier Lauder of the 24th Indian Infantry is in charge of Rangoon area.

He met Sri Bahaduri to-day and asked for a report on the activities of the I. I. L. He suggests that the League should abandon its political activities, but continue the social and health work. He gave the parallel of the Congress in India, and said that in welfare work both combined though the Congress and the Government were at logger-heads in politics.



## EBBING TIDE

Sri Bahaduri has agreed to function our dispensaries in Rangoon. Brigadier Lauder offered assistance—money or by way of medicines, but we have declined the offer.

The National Bank of Azad Hind will be allowed to keep on functioning. That is good, because in the chaos that reigns now, when shops and markets are mostly closed and prices are soaring again, the Bank has begun to supply us with food, clothes and other necessities, and at the old prices. It is our one hope of security in these insecure times.

As regards the Fauj, Brigadier Lauder has assured Loganadan that all the personnel would be allowed to return to India as free men and women. But he requested that all Fauj ranks should remove their uniforms, and officers previously in the British Indian Army should put on their old ranks.

He also assured Loganadan that the Fauj ranks or officers would not be used for fatigue work except in company with British Indian troops in equal numbers for essential duties.

The Fauj Camp would be guarded by the Fauj itself and we would fly our own flag, the Tricolour. Also the Fauj is entitled to sing its own Anthem.

I met N— who had been in the Suicide Squad with P—. He lost touch with P— at Yenang Yaung.—Shall I never set eyes on you again? If you are taken prisoner I must find you in Rangoon sooner or later. Oh P—, life is difficult without you.....

May 19, 1945

Brigadier Lauder to-day swooped down on our Bank. The Bank already had returned most of the deposits. But still 35 lakhs of rupees, the Bank's own money, was left. This has been confiscated along with the books.

The rope is being tightened round our necks slowly and yet effectively. This is in direct opposition to the undertakings given by the Brigadier in the beginning. Who called the British "Perfidious Albion"?.....

The British Field Security Service has been extremely active. I was sent for to-day. Military officers with soldiers come for you and say: "You are required for a few minutes." You have no option; you have to accompany the military immediately. You are taken to the Field Interrogating Unit. There, your examination proceeds for days. You had arrived in the clothes you were wearing. Without a bed, without a change, you have to remain in custody in the Rangoon Central Jail, till you are allowed to go. That is, if you are lucky enough to be allowed to go,—which is mostly not the case.

Those who have come home after days in the Jail have their movements under strict surveillance. Others have had to give big sums by way of security money for good behaviour. Some have to report regularly to the police. We, of the Rani Jhansi Regiment, have not escaped their attentions. I had a narrow escape. They questioned me about P—'s whereabouts.—That must mean he is not a prisoner with them. Then they asked me

## EBBING TIDE

to describe my activities. I told them boldly that I worked in the I. I. L., and that the Rani Jhansi Regiment was my military unit, and if they wanted to know more they must approach my heads. I was not going to say anything more.

Somehow they did not press. I wonder why. Possibly my determined attitude put them off. But I find that as I came home to-day a man has begun to shadow me. He is now in front of the house. He can go on shadowing me. I shall not worry.

But if P— suddenly turns up? I must watch out for him, and keep a hiding place ready for him in the vicinity. Also I must inform all our friends about this shadow that is behind me, so that they can warn P—if they see him first.

*May 28, 1943*

Sri Bahaduri has been arrested and sent to the Rangoon Jail. This is the limit.....

Rumour has it that no less than two hundred of our men have been sentenced—without any trial—to varying terms of imprisonment, and are now in Insein Jail.

As regards the Fauj also we have been cheated. As soon as disarmament was complete, all our soldiers were herded in a separate section of the Rangoon Central Jail and British guards were appointed over them. Road fatigue, cleaning and sweeping under the supervision of British Indian troops, is enforced on them. They are treated as prisoners. There is rumour that the

senior officers will all be taken to India and tried by court-martial.....

*June 5, 1945*

My diary, before you I shall confess. I am a broken woman. I have sustained a blow from which I shall never recover. The thoughts of P— haunt me day and night. Every familiar object in the house recalls memories—his pipe, his clothes, his seat at the dinner table. I hear his voice all over the house.....

I have wept—my pillow has been wet through and through now for two consecutive nights and days. To whom can I turn for solace and comfort? Everything that mattered in life seems to have lost its edge. I have to struggle to keep my mind away from thoughts of suicide ..... .. What a fate, oh God, what a fate did you store up for me? How did I deserve this? Whatever I have loved and admired and pined for has been snatched away from me with a single blow. I loved my P— with feelings dearer than life. Now he is gone,—gone for ever! I loved the struggle for India's freedom, we had worked for it jointly. That too is now lost. My work has been taken away. My co-workers have dispersed and gone their own different ways. I feel I am an orphan. I have no place here. My son in India is my only solace. But they have refused to let me go to India.....

My diary, my diary, what shall I do? I have nobody to give me counsel. I always used to quarrel with P—about my

## EBBING TIDE

"independence". No, P— no, I need your guiding hand. I know I cannot get along without you.....

What a shock it was when the news first reached me..... Sri K—must have known about it for quite a time. Now when I go over the details, I realise how considerate he has been

The scene of the last moments of P—haunt' me The picture stood up before my eyes when K—related it. It has never left me The words resound in my ears :

"They had tried to blow up a big ammunition dump of the enemy He had known there was danger involved. That was why he refused to allow any of his colleagues to do the final job. It was beyond the Burma border, on Indian soil that he met his death You must not grieve because he did not grieve When they found him after the successful blow-up, he was lying in a ditch with his left hand blown off and severe injuries on his body He knew he would not live So he has sent a message to you and to all his co-workers "Keep bravely on—Do not falter in your steps Tell M—, my brave wife, that I have died a hero's death. Mother India is calling me to-day. I know I have fulfilled my duty by her. Netaji, I have given my blood—I know this blood will inspire other warriors.—Do not tarry here, my friends Do your job. I shall die soon. The enemy shall never find me alive I have dyed the road that will take our Fauj to Victory and Freedom with my blood. The words of Netaji come back to me ;

## JAI HIND

“Hamare jawan mardon ka khun hamari Azadi ki qumat  
hoga Hamare shahidon ke khun—unki bahaduri aur mardangi  
—se hi Hindustan ki mang puri ho sake gi Hindustanyon par  
zulm-o-sitam torhne wale Bartanvi jabaron se adle ka badla sirf  
khun sehi liya ja sake ga—Jai Hind ! ”

And as he finished, he drew his revolver and with super  
human effort put the muzzle in his mouth and pressed the  
trigger ”.

‘ Jai Hind

Jai Hind ..

Jai

”





Women Scouts in No Man's Land.

"We want not one Rani of Jhansi,  
but thousands and thousands...."



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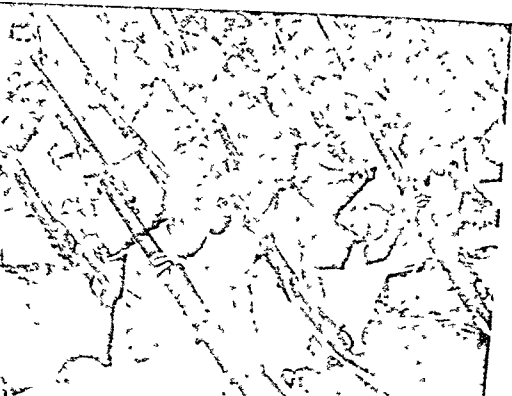
"Jai Hind . . Jai Hind ..... .. Jai ..... ".  
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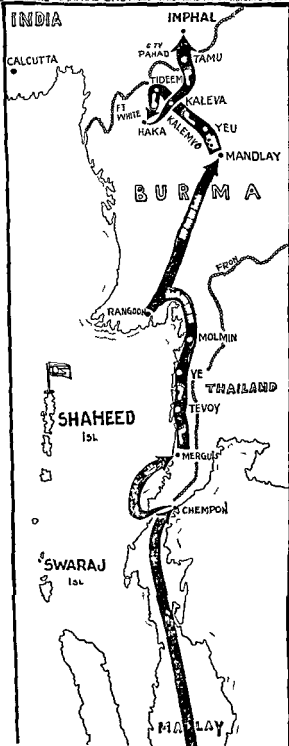


in No Man's Land

'We want not one Rani of Jhansi,  
but thousands and thousands ..



5 NGAPORE TO IMPHAL 2775 MILES HIND AZAD FAUJ MARCHED ON FT. 1000 M.S.



The route taken  
by the  
Azad Hind Fauj  
to reach  
the  
Eastern Frontier

# Message Of Kalaji Subhas Chandra Bose

To my Indian and Burmese Friends in Burma! Brothers and Sisters! I am leaving Burma with a very heavy heart. We have lost the first round of our fight for Independence. But we have lost only the first round. There are many more rounds to fight. In spite of our losing the first round, I see no reason for losing heart.

You, my countrymen in Burma, have done your duty to your Motherland in a way that evoked the admiration of the world. You have given liberally of your men, money and materials. You set the first example of Total Mobilisation. But the odds against us were overwhelming and we have temporarily lost the battle in Burma.

The spirit of selfless sacrifice that you have shown, particularly since I shifted my Headquarters to Burma, is something that I shall never forget, as long as I live.

I have the fullest confidence that that spirit can never be crushed. For the sake of India's Freedom, I beseech you to keep up that spirit. I beseech you to hold your heads erect, and wait for that blessed Day when once again you will have an opportunity of waging the War for India's Independence.

When the History of India's last War of Independence comes to be written, Indians in Burma will have an honoured place in that History.

I do not leave Burma of my own free will. I would have preferred to stay on here and share with you the sorrow of temporary defeat. But on the pressing advice of my Ministers and high-ranking Officers, I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for India's liberation. Being a born optimist, my unshakable faith in India's early emancipation remains unimpaired, and I appeal to you to cherish the same optimism.

I have always said that the darkest hour precedes the dawn. We are now passing through the darkest hour; therefore, the dawn is not far off.

**INDIA SHALL BE FREE.**

I cannot conclude this message without publicly acknowledging once again my heartfelt gratitude to the Government and people of Burma for all the help that I have received at their hands in carrying on this struggle. The day will come when Free India will repay that debt of gratitude in a generous manner.

INQUIRAN VINDALAO  
AARD PIND ZINDASAN.  
JAI HIND.

*Subhas Chandra Bose*

HEADQ. UNITED ARAB HIND FAJ  
SPECIAL ORDER OF THE DAY

Brave Officers and Men of the Arab Hind Faj

It is with a very heavy heart that I am leaving Burma - the scene of the many heroic battles that you have fought since February 1944 and are still fighting. In Imphal and Burma, we have lost the first round in our Fight for Independence. But it is only the first round. We have many more rounds to fight. I am a born optimist and I shall not admit defeat under any circumstances. Your brave deeds in the battle against the enemy on the plains of Imphal, the hills and jungles of Arakan and the oil field area and other localities in Burma will live in the history of our struggle for Independence for all time.

Comrades. At this critical hour, I have only one word of command to give you, and that is that if you have to go down temporarily then go down as heroes, go down upholding the highest code of honour and discipline. The future generations of Indians who will be born, not as slaves but as free men, because of your colossal sacrifice, will bless your names and proudly proclaim to the world that you, their forebears, fought and lost the battle in Manipur, Assam, and Burma but through temporary failure you paved the way to ultimate success and glory.

My unshakable faith in India's liberation remains unaltered. I am leaving in your safe hands our National Tricolour, our national honour, and the best traditions of Indian warriors. I have no doubt whatsoever that you, the vanguard of India's army of liberation, will sacrifice everything, even life itself, to uphold India's National honour, so that your comrades who will continue the fight elsewhere may have before them your shining example to inspire them at all times.

If I had my own way I would have preferred to stay with you in solidarity and share with you the sorrow of temporary defeat. But on the advice of my Ministers and high ranking officers, I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for emancipation. Knowing my country men in East Asia and inside India, I can assure you that they will continue the fight under all circumstances and that all your suffering and sacrifices will not be in vain. So far as I am concerned, I shall steadfastly adhere to the pledge that I took on the 21st of October 1943, to do all in my power to serve the interests of 38 crores of my countrymen and fight for their liberation. I appeal to you, in conclusion, to cherish the same optimism as myself and to believe, like myself, that the darkest hour of our days recedes to the dawn. India shall be free and before

God bless you

J. K. J. B. J. K. B. B.  
SAD 'IND' INDIA  
"J I IND"

Jawahar Chandra Bose

# *As it happened—*

December 7, 1941	..	..	War begins in Far East.
February 15, 1942	..	..	Singapore falls to the Japs.
June 24, 1942	..	..	Indian Independence League inaugurated.
November—			
December, 1942	..	..	Crisis over Penang Swaraj Institute & Azad Hind Fauj
April 18, 1943	..	..	I. I. L. on War-footing.
July 4, 1943	..	..	Sri Subhas Bose —President, I. I. L.
July 5, 1943	..	..	Azad Hind Fauj , announced to the World.
August 25, 1943	..	..	Sri Subhas Bose— Sepah-Salar of the Fauj.
October 21, 1943	..	..	Arzi Hukumut-e-Azad Hind established.
October 22, 1943	.	..	Rani Jhansi Regiment Camp inaugurated.
October 25, 1943	.	.	War declared on the British Empire & the U.S.A.
November 8, 1943	..	..	Andamans & Nicobar transferred to Azad Hind Government.
December 30, 1943	..	..	Tricolour hoisted at Port Blair.
January 8, 1944	..	..	Advance Headquarters at Rangoon; Gen. Loganadan —Chief Commissioner, Shaheed Isles
March 18, 1944	..	..	Fauj crosses into India.
March 22, 1944	..	..	Gen. Chatterji-first Governor, Liberated Areas in India.
July 4, 1944	..	..	"Netaji Week" commences.
August 21, 1944	..	.	Military operations suspended due to monsoon.
December—			
January, 1945	..	..	Second Campaign by the Fauj.
April 24, 1945	..	..	Azad Hind Government leaves Rangoon for Bangkok.
May 3, 1945 ,	..	..	Fauj surrenders Rangoon to the British.